

VOL. XXVIII

PART I

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

MARCH



1942

PATNA

PUBLISHED BY THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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[PART I

Leading Articles

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

1941-42

By THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR SAIYID FAZL ALI

The Annual Report, which has been circulated, gives a summary of the various activities of the Society. I shall only add a few more details by way of supplement.

During the year under review, all the four issues of the Journal were published in time. They include articles on Indian History, Archaeology, and other allied subjects by well-known scholars.

In the March 1941 number appeared the discourse on "The Wall-Paintings of Ajanta" by Mr. Yazdani, the Director of Archaeology under H.E.H. the Nizam's Government who had addressed the Society on the same subject last year. It has been said that in judging a book, a picture, a

character or a movement it is the duty of the critic to put himself imaginatively as far as may be in the atmosphere surrounding his subject and not to import into his judgment consciously or unconsciously any bias of modern thought or taste. Mr. Yazdani, if I may say so, has faithfully adhered to this rule and even a casual reader of his discourse will have to admit that the whole subject has been viewed in the correct perspective.

The June and September issues of the Journal contain under the titles of "The Sources of Indian History" and "India beyond the Ganges" the first English translation by Dr. Banerji-Sastri of Lassen's well-known work on India which has been justly described in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XVI-236) as "forming one of the greatest monuments of untiring industry and critical scholarship". This English translation will make available the researches of that great scholar to Indian students who are not familiar with the language in which it is written.

Dr. Sarkar has continued in the June, September, and December numbers of the Journal a Tibetan Account of Bengal. The original sources on which the account is based are in a Tibetan compilation of the 18th century which contains matters of varying degrees of veracity. Only an insignificant fraction of it has been translated and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the valuable notes of Dr. Sarkar show how necessary it is to have an adequate translation

of substantial portions of the work before any conclusion regarding their value can be arrived at.

The intimate connection both sacred and secular between the Indian and the Tibeto-Burman worlds has been further stressed by the 'Bronze Budha from Mandalay' described in the December issue by Dr. Banerji-Sastri. The original was acquired for the Patna Museum through the efforts of Mr. Manuk, President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum, to whom the Society owes so much. The owner, Miss A. Cloete of Doranda House, Ranchi, reported that it came into the possession of her father just after the annexation of Burma, when the booty from the Mandalay Palace was sold by auction in Calcutta. The image is inscribed and records that a king of old Yünnan presented it in the Burmese Era 1151, *i.e.* in 1789 A. D.

The notable contributions in the Journal on the medieval history of India are 'The Chronology of the Sultans of Gulbarga (covering the reigns of the Sultans from 748 H. to 825 H., *i.e.* 1422 A.D.) by Professor M. Somesekhara Sarma of the Andhra University; and "Firoz Tughluq and his Bengal campaign" and "The Bijapur Court Letters by Dr. K. K. Basu. 'Firoz Tughluq and his Bengal campaign' is based on a well-known book called "Sirat-i-Firoz Sahi" and "The Bijapur Court Letters" include English translations of a *firman* issued by Jahangir to Adil Shah and several letters exchanged between the Bijapur Court and the Delhi Emperors. In the June

number, Mr. Askari of Patna College has utilised local sources in giving an interesting and exhaustive account of Nawab Munir-ud-Dowla, a Minister of Shah Alam. This adventurer migrated from Persia in the later part of the eighteenth century and the writer sums up his policy as "running with the hare and hunting with the hound" a policy which has never paid and will not pay.

Prof. Hari Ram Gupta of the Punjab University brings us to the threshold of the present age by his description of "Nawal Singh, the Jat Ruler of Bharatpur's fight with the Sikhs, 24th February, 1770" in the December issue. In the September issue Dr. K. K. Dutta describes the capture of the last Dutch Settlements in Bengal and Bihar. In the December issue Prof. Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University has given an interesting account of the "Pooree English School (1835-40)". In the December issue of the Journal Dr. Walter Ruben from Ankara in Turkey has contributed a comprehensive account of "Garuda", the bird of Vishnu and the enemy of the snakes. A few years ago, Dr. Ruben had come to India to study field archaeology and travelled extensively, specially in the Ranchi district.

The other articles included in the Journal which should be mentioned are :—

"The Rise of the Rajputs" by Dr. Dutt. "Two Mithila MSS. on Tantra, and Yoga" by Dr. Banerji-Sastri. "The Jñāna-svarodaya of Dariya Saheb" by Mr. Dharmendra Brahmachari

Sastri and "Mir Jumla and the English in Madras" by Mr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. "Brahmanical Counter-Revolution" by Dr. Dutt. "Father Hosten's Collection of Manuscript and Printed Writings" communicated by the Rev. Father M. D. Moran, S. J. Principal, St. Xavier's High School, Patna. "More light on the family of Vizir Ali" by Dr. K. K. Basu.

These articles published in the Journal will give you an idea of the scope of the researches conducted by their learned contributors and their scholarship.

The search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts has been continued with important results. Dr. Banerji-Sastri informs me that a copy of Śalya-parvan of the Mahābhārata has been brought to light and a critical collation with available printed editions reveals traces of a different version. A few of these variations have been noticed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in the December issue of the Journal. In view of its importance for textual criticism, the manuscript has been acquired for the Library of the Society.

The library has been further enriched by new acquisitions, exchanges and presentations and it is satisfactory to note that it is being used more frequently by local members.

Last year while reviewing the work of the Society during the year 1940-41 I had observed that the first four volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of manuscripts in Mithila which is edited by Dr. Banerji-Sastri had been published

and the cost of printing and publishing them had been met out of the funds generously placed at the disposal of the Society by the late Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. The remaining seven volume of this catalogue are now ready for the press, but unfortunately they cannot be published for want of funds. The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga has been approached for help towards their publication and all that I need say just now is that his reply has been encouraging.

This brief review of the year's activities will I hope convince you that the Bihar and Orissa Research Society has continued as before to serve the cause of learning and research and it is gratifying to note that our efforts in this direction have been appreciated by competent judges. In support of my remark I will only quote what was observed by the President of the All-India Oriental Conference at its 1941 session at Hyderabad, Deccan. The learned President's observations were these :

"The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has maintained the high tone of its publications and its *Journal*, besides a number of useful articles, there has appeared the text of *Pramāṇavārttikavṛttiṭīkā*, which at one time was considered lost by scholars."

In closing this brief review of the year's work, I must thank Mr. Sham Bahadur and Mr. Taraporevala for their services to the Society as Treasurer and as Librarian respectively and also to the members of the Council for the keen interest taken by them in the affairs of the Society.

I must also take this opportunity of acknowledging the valuable services rendered by Dr. Banerji-Sastri both as the Secretary of the Society and as an Editor of the Journal. The Society is immensely benefited by his expert knowledge and I think that it is no exaggeration to say that he is now almost an inseparable part of this institution.



INDIAN PAINTING*

By P. C. MANUK

My principal object tonight will be to interest you and next to give you some information in broad outline of the history and development of Pictorial Art in India. In this process I shall have to take you to Persia as well. In doing so I propose to illustrate my talk by as many slides as possible in the time at my disposal. The slides, except those of the Ajanta Cave Paintings, are all taken from examples in my own collection.

For those of my audience not familiar with my subject let me add a foreword:

The Pictorial Art of India is not to be judged by the canons and conventions of the West, which are founded on standards developed from Greek and Roman principles. The Rules of Technique are entirely different, notably in respect of perspective and shading.

Persian and Indian Artists never made an Art of pure landscape; they adopted almost universally the convention of the high horizon, by which device figures can be seen distinct in various planes without interfering with each other.

* Address delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on 24-3-42.

On the other hand, they excelled in the power of the line to convey meaning to form and to give expression to face, without resort to any subtleties of high light or shading. The genius of Indian artists stands pre-eminent and unique in one respect at least and that is in their portrait drawing and painting. By the unfaltering strength and simplicity of his line, he reveals for all to see the naked character of the subject portrayed. It is authentically reported that the greatest of Dutch artists, Rembrandt, made free copies from imported Indian portraits in order to acquire the skill of Indian artists in their free line-drawing of figures and faces.

Unfortunately there is very little contemporary literature of the various periods, especially the early periods, of which specimens have survived to us. Modern writers have therefore to construct their theories on a study chiefly of the paintings themselves in an endeavour to group them into schools, chronologically aligned. Much of this must be guess work, except when dates of some great masters are definitely known.

1. Of the Prehistoric Period.--Some rude but vigorous drawings in red pigment have been found on the walls of caves in the Kaimur Range of the C. P. and somewhat similar drawings in caves of the Mirzapur District. Photos of the latter are to be seen in the Patna Museum.

Prehistoric man in Europe also depicted similar scenes on the walls of caves in France, or carved them on reindeer bones.

It may interest members of this learned Society to be reminded that grottos in the bowels of the Pyrenees have been explored by many audacious savants such as Martel and Casteret and made to yield up their secrets. In these grottos formed by subterranean streams in what is known as the Magdalenian Age, some 15 to 20 thousand years before our Era, many sculptures and frescoes have been discovered, demonstrably belonging to that far-distant Age. The finest of these frescoes are in the cavern of Altamira in the Cantabrian Mountains of Spain. The designs are correct and true, and sometimes so imaginative and unconventional are the concepts, that they may be heralds of the modernist and futurist schools of our own day in Europe.

For their pigment, they used two very common natural oxides: iron oxide and manganese peroxide, yielding colours which defy time and moisture. Iron oxide produced a range of colours from ochre to red and vermillion, while manganese peroxide yielded browns and blacks. The great polychrome fresco of Altamira is 45 feet long with 25 almost life sized animals.

II. Of the Earliest Historic Period, at about the beginning of the Christian Era, we have in India a few wall paintings in red and black in the Jogimara Cave of the Ramgarh Hills, C. P., mostly of animals and monsters.

III. Later we have the famous frescoes of *Ajanta*, executed at different times, possibly between the 1st and 7th Centuries A. D. and the

less known Caves at *Bagh*, in the Gwalior State, of the 6th or 7th Century A. D. At Ajanta, the paintings are not executed on the rock of the Caves but on plaster superimposed on the walls and ceilings. They have, alas! suffered great damage from the hand of time and also, I regret to say, from the hand of man. Now, however, under the enlightened rule of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, they are jealously guarded against vandalism and as far as possible protected against erosion. No one who has spent even a few days in an intelligent study of the originals could fail to be impressed by their accomplished execution, their variety of design, their beauty of form and colour, their complete command of posture and movement, expressed by the power of their lines and of the modelling of the figures and by their surprising vitality.

- Slides*:—1. Mother and Child, Yaśodharā and Rāhula coming to have a fitting sight of their long-lost husband and father, after the latter's return as the Buddha.
2. Two Princesses, in poise and suspense.
 3. Reverie before the mirror.
 4. Still Life and Quick : Ceiling of Cave No. 1.
 5. Mahākapi Jātaka, the Monkey's Enlightenment. Right Wall Small Shrine Left of Vihara II—the lord Buddha relating the story of his previous

birth as a monkey and his evolution stage by stage to enlightenment.

6. A Prince's Offerings to the Lord Buddha.

Incidentally, Ajanta has greatly influenced the early period of the modern Bengal School whose greatest exponent is Mr. Tagore.

After Ajanta and up to the Moghul Revival in the early 16th Century A. D. there is, so far as I know, no authentic work in India of the artist's brush, with the possible exception of illustrations to the Sanskrit religious works in Jain MSS. These may have a historic interest, in as much as they bear no trace of Moghul influence, but they hardly deserve a place in the ranks of Art.

But an unexpected sidelight on Indian painting has been thrown by the *explorations in Chinese Turkestan* carried out by Sir A. Stein and after him by the French, German, and Japanese expeditions. Turkestan was colonized in early times from North-Western India, and became thus a flourishing seat of Buddhist culture. Here throve a hieratic art of painting and sculpture directly descended from the Hellenistic "Gandhara School" of North-Western India; and here, meeting the westward current of Chinese technique, this art gradually coalesced with it, and from the union of the two arose the classical Buddhist school of China and Japan. All these stages are shown in the frescoes, paintings on wood and textile fabrics, and statuary discovered in Turkestan. Moreover, this emigrant art of India

was not wholly religious. It also developed, with some Chinese influence, in a more secular direction, becoming a school of vigorous and graceful line-drawing, which spread through Western Turkestan into Persia. In Persia it flourished by the side of another school of technique connected with the Byzantine-Arab culture, and both of these were brought by the Moghul conquerors into India early in the sixteenth century. There, under the patronage of the Moghul emperors and princes and the nobles who followed the fashions of the Moghal courts, these schools from Persia combined with native Indian art and developed into what is usually called the "Moghul School", a wide term which includes many types of work that brilliantly reflect the many-sided interests of Moghul culture, notably portraits of emperors, princes and other distinguished persons, scenes in the Moghul courts, studies of birds, beasts, and flowers, hunting scenes, especially those in which Moghul emperors are the heroes, and illustrations of romances. This *Moghul Revival* may be said to date from the advent of *Babar* about 1525 *A. D.* but that great adventurer was too busy fighting to devote much time to patronage of the Fine Arts, though his *Memoirs* shew a cultured mind, broad and exceptionally refined; for he was a musician, calligraphist, theologian and more than a merely amateur poet.

I have spoken of the Moghul Revival and have deliberately avoided the term "Renaissance" for that term implies two mistaken ideas: in so far as Hindustan is concerned, viz., that

Art was dead and that it rose again in its old form.—The absence of specimens, remembering the political and climatic conditions of the country, by no means proves that Art was dead. Dead things are not capable of evolution, and at the beginning of the Revival, Moghul artists found disciples but not mere copyists in their Indian colleagues. In fact Sanskrit MSS. of the post-Ajanta Period have recently been discovered with disquisitions on the Art of Painting and the late Dr. Jayaswal published an article on this subject in the Research Society's Journal. This affords *prima facie* proof that pictorial Art was by no means dead.

IV. The Persian School—In the limited time at my disposal, I am unable to enter into a historical survey of the origin and progress of this School. Suffice it, therefore, to say that when Timur conquered Persia in the 14th Century, Persian painting began to develop under the influence of artists imported from China - and their influence runs all through Persian Pictorial Art, certainly up to the 17th Century and possibly later. Graceful curves, resembling the curves of Persian calligraphy gorgeous colouring, tessellated interiors, close attention to detail, and figures which stirke attitudes are predominant features of this Persian School. In the middle of the 17th Century, Shah Abbas II sent artists to Italy.

Babar (1526—30) in his lively memoirs mentions *Beisad* as the most eminent of Persian painters. Beizad flourished at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16 Century.

Another famous master, somewhat later than Beizad was *Aga Mirak*. They revelled in glorious colours, tessellated walls, Persian, gardens, carpets, beautiful flagons and drinking cups.

There was another and more restrained School which specialised in portraiture, whose best known exponent was the master *Reza Abbasi*. These artists excelled in the art of line drawing, with a few graceful curves and a few discreet touches of gold and occasionally of colour to brighten the severity of the line.

In both Schools, however, the Chinese influence prevailed in varying degrees.

Persian Slides:— 7. Adolescence signed by Md. Ali (Black and White).

8. Two Dragons fighting with a portrait of the Artist in the right hand corner below (Black and White).
9. A European Ambassador at the Persian Court.
10. The Magic Cow or the Warden's Dilemma.
11. Double Frontispiece from an early 16th Cent. *Shahnama* depicting a Durbar and Reception at the Court—Painted by Beizad.

Then we have a short transitional period between the purely Persian School and the true *Moghul Revival* which may be placed in the 1st half of the 16th Century when *Humayun* the father of Akbar the Great, returning from a

temporary exile, brought with him a small group of Persian artists back to India. Though characteristics of the Persian School with its graceful curves persist, the faces disclose the passing of Chinese influence.

Indo-Persian Slides:—12. An angel in a starry robe, soaring on radiant wings through a flower spangled firmament.

13. The Tryst under the Tree: Prince and Princess.

14. The Swing: the Lover and the Loved with two confidants.

15. A lesson in Caligraphy: the Ustad and the Sagred.

The Moghul Revival.—The Moghul House reigned in India some 300 years. Conquerors and warriors though they primarily were, their achievements in the Arts of peace were no less striking than their warlike successes.

Akbar the Great (1556—1605):—It was the enlightened though illiterate Akbar who gave the first definite impulse to the movement which established what has come to be known as the *Moghul School*—with its offshoot called the *Rajput School* for want of a better name.

For half a century from 1556, the Emperor Akbar's personal interest and patronage were responsible for the gorgeous miniatures, characteristic of the period. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a long list of the more famous Court painters and already there are many Hindu names amongst

them—Basawan, Daswant, Mansur, Miskin, Makund, which must have been household words at the cultured court of Akbar.

Moghul Slides:— 16. The Emperor Akbar towards the end of his reign giving audience to his great officers of State—Prince Danyal seated beside the Emperor—Facing the Emperor Raja Todarmall the Emperor's Great Finance Minister—Guarding the steps to the Throne are some of his famous Generals—one is certainly Raja Mansingh—Further down we get on the right Birbul the Wit of the Court and on the left Tansen the Singer. Some of the names are written in clear gold characters, but unfortunately I cannot trace the name of the Master who wrought this work to perpetuate his Sovereign's glory.

Slide 17. The education of a Moghul Princess.

Akbar's son *Jehangir* (1605—28) was an enthusiastic lover of painting and a generous patron of artists and took pride in his critical faculties on Art.

In his memoirs he gives pride of place to *Abul Hassan* whom he honoured with the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman* (Wonder of the age) and to *Ustad Mansur* who lived into his reign and to whom he gave the title of *Nadir-ud-Asar*. Of the latter, *Jehangir* says he was unique in his generation in the art of drawing. *Mansur* is chiefly famous for his animals, birds and flowers.

Slide:— 18. The Emperor Jehangir weighing the young Prince Khurram (later the Emperor Shah Jehan) against gold, to be distributed as alms on the Prince's birthday. The birth day gifts are depicted in the foreground.

This is a fine typical example of the Jehangir period at its best. It is also of historical interest as a Pictorial Record of a well-known tradition of Imperial Delhi in the spacious days of the Grand Moghul. Moreover a contemporary hand helps us to identify many of the figures by writing some of their names in minute Persian characters on their collars or sleeves. Apart from the central figure of the Emperor, labelled in gold as *Shahanshah Jehangir Badshah*, and the other figure of the Prince seated on the scales labelled *Meerza Khurram*, we get the following names to the right of the Emperor:—

1. Khan Khanan, *i. e.* his premier noble, the old man in white.
2. Itmadud Doula (father of Nur Jehan).
3. Ashif Khan.
4. Mahabat Khan described by Manucci as the greatest general at Jehangir's Court.
5. Khan Jehan Arai (man in pink on extreme right).

Moreover at the top of the picture, in beautiful contemporary Nastaliq, is written a short description of the scene depicted which may be translated as follows :

"All day long in the palace with Khurram very pleased did the distribution take place with joy and gladness.

And many of the presents received (by the young Prince) were greatly admired."

The reign of *Emperor Shah Jehan* (1628—58) marked the culmination of Moghul magnificence (witness the Taj) and probably of Moghul Pictorial Art.

Slide.—19. The Emperor Shah Jehan and his 4 sons.

I have told you that the genius of Indian artists excelled in portrait drawing, due to the unfaltering strength and sweep of his line drawing. I shall now show you just a few portraits of the Moghul period.

Portrait Slides—

20. The Emperor Jehangir.

21. A Royal Prince.

22. A Moghul Nobleman (resembling King Edward VII).

23. A poet declaiming, possibly Tansen.

24. Equestrian Portrait.

25. A Rajput Princess, half lifting her veil.

The reign of *Aurangzeb* 1658-1707 marked the decadence of Moghul Art, though there are many pictures of his reign depicting chiefly his own exploits or acts of piety.

Slide.—26. The Emperor Aurangzeb at the Storming of the Fort at Golconda.

That Pictorial Art did not then die is apparent from several good examples that have survived after Aurangzeb's reign, and some fine examples of *Md. Shah's* reign (1718—39) are in my collection. The next slide will shew that painting received royal patronage even later.

Slide.—26A. The *Emperor Shah Alam Badshah* otherwise *Alamgir II* (1754—57) seated on a throne, improvised by the Moghuls to take the place of the famous Peacock Throne carried away by Nadir Shah of Persia, who overran Northern India and entered Delhi without a fight being put up by the indolent and pleasure-loving Emperor Muhammad Shah. The figure on the left is labelled *Shah Zor Khan Bahadur*, that on the right is not labelled, and the picture is signed at the foot by the Artist Khair-Ullah. There are six lines of verse at the top.

Moghul Society Slides.—

27. Pleasance by the Lake

28. The Blind Man's Buff.

Before I leave the Moghul School let me show you two slides representative of their work on animals and flowers.

Slides.—29. The belted Elk.

30. Flowers in a vase.

By this time Hindu artists had learnt all that their original Persian masters could teach them. To the orthodox Mahomedan the depicting of the

human figure or anything that had life was declared *haram* or sinful by the edicts of his religion, *i. e.* the old Mosaic Law: "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image" carried to its extreme interpretation. True, under the enlightened Shah Abbas of Persia and the liberal early Moghul Emperors, people broke away from these edicts—but wonderful as their productions are in the delight they give to the eye and senses, they rarely appeal to the soul of man except when they depict a religious subject such as an episode in the life of a Saint.

No such prohibitions, however, stood in the way of their Hindu colleagues and disciples to whom their gods and goddesses were very real beings, assuming traditional shapes and forms. It must be remembered that Art and Religion have been closely connected for long ages and most of the masterpieces of the European Renaissance depict religious subjects or quasi religious subjects, culled from Christian history or the mythology of ancient Greece or Rome.

A new School known as the *Pahari* sprang up which concentrated on scenes from Hindu mythology. Its main offshoots were the Schools of *Kangra* and *Chamba* and its greatest exponent was one Mola Ram, who flourished in Garhwal (1760—1833). Though less glowing in colour and less lavish in detail, this purely Hindu School can boast of delicacy and charm of the highest order.

Slides of the Rajpu. and Mythological Schools:

31. King Dasaratha's daughter Śāntā

beguiling her future husband Rishya Śringa into matrimony from asceticism.
He is holding a Sarang (mridaṅga).

32. The youthful Votary.
33. The Bride's Home-coming; washing of the feet.
34. The Tryst of Śrī Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in the Woods.
35. The Lady with the Veena.
36. Two Ladies on the Terrace.
37. Pārvatī worshipping.
38. Tantric Ascetics male and female.

Kangra—

39. The Holy Family.
40. Kṛishṇa's Dalliance.
41. A fire scene in the days of Śrī Kṛishṇa.

I shall now show you one slide of the
Kashmir School.

Slide.—42. Sītā's Purification at Ayodhyā after her rescue from Rāvaṇa.

Now I bring you nearer home to the *Patna School* which flourished in the latter half of the last Century under the patronage of two or three enlightened zemindars of Patna City. On their deaths the School declined and the descendants of these artists were absorbed into the Bengal School at Calcutta.—

Slides.—43. A Muhammadan Wedding by Munshi Shib Lal Shahib.

44. The Moon and the Moon's Rival, by the late Rameshwar Pd. Varma.

45. A scene from Omar Khayam in the Persian style, by the late Rameshwar Pd. Varma.

Illustrated Manuscripts.

46. A beautiful Frontispiece from a 17th Century Persian Mss.

Scribe: Abdul Rashid-al-Delami *i. e.* of Delam, a city in Gilan.

He was known as Aga Rashid, came to India in the reign of the Emperor Shah-jahan and was appointed tutor to Prince Dara Shikoh, the Emperor's eldest son.

47. Wasili or page of illuminated Arabic Prose.

And that brings me to the last of my slides to be shewn tonight and to the end of my Lecture. In the short time at my disposal I have endeavoured to give you a fairly comprehensive bird's eye view of Indian Pictorial Art from ancient times till to-day.

SOURCES FOR A HISTORY OF NEPAL

(880 A. D.—1680 A. D.)

By D. R. REGMI

This period covers eight hundred years of Nepalese history from the time of Rāghavadeva to that of the Pre-Gorkha Malla Karnāṭakas

Sources.

These extend over a vast and varied field of inscriptions, genealogical surveys, manuscript works, foreign accounts and coins. There are seven inscriptions including two of Pratapamalla (1632-1680), and one of Siddhinar-Singh, his contemporary in Patan¹. These inscriptions have been found to supplement the evidence of the MS. works as regards regnal data (years) and also to supply relative information about particular reigns. The *genealogies* are also altogether seven, of which the four which constitute the group used variously by Wright,² Lévi,³ Bhagwan Lal Indrajī⁴ and Kirkpatrick⁵ with the exception of the last have been declared untrustworthy⁶. They have been found

1 Indian Antiquary, vol. ix, pp. 184 ff.

2 Edited by Wright, 1877—Translated from Parbatīya by Munshi Shewshanker.

3 Lévi, *Le Népal*, 'Historic du Népal,' Ch. II.

4 I. A. XIII, p. 411 ff.

5 Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, p. 254 ff.

6 See also H. C. Rai : *The Dynastic History of India*, pp. 185-232.

lacking in accuracy of facts and figures. They have indulged in introducing unreal dynasties and have made a great confusion between them and also as regards dates of contemporary rulers who are placed one after the other irrespective of their actual dates. An idea of this misplacement may be obtained from one instance and this is regarding the Nānyadevites and Vāmadevites who were contemporary rulers as verified by MS. but are placed one after the other in a manner that the difference amounts to nearly two hundred years¹. The chroniclers suffered from a lack of definite knowledge on the subject and also from an obsession that they have insufficient materials and lists in their hands, which certainly did not cover the five thousand years of *Kaliyuga* they wanted to connect their history with and it was what according to them quite necessary to keep up the national reputation of their past chivalry in the *Mahābhārata*†. So the fact of contemporaneity was sacrificed and Kings who ruled together were made to rule at periods very distant from each other. But this alone could not suffice, for with the limited number of names and under ordinary calculation of

¹ See for full criticism, IA, XIII, 413 ff. Levi, ii, p.87ff; i, 202 ff.

†A Great war fought in India between the two powers of Kuru and Pāṇḍavas. No authentic evidence is available bearing on this war. The Nepal *Vms* attribute to one of the names of the Kirata dynasty a gallant heroism on that occasion, But only three generations after it brings Budha in the scene, which proves beyond doubt that the chronicler had no idea of the date of Buddha or Asoka and least of the date of Mahābhārata.

regnal years there comes a big gap otherwise remaining unfilled up. Accordingly they took a recourse to lengthening reign periods sometimes even 90 years were allotted and thereby the adjustment was effected. But all these have rendered the whole account unreal, we have rulers ruling only three years according to MS. works, but the same are given 20 or 30 or 40 by the genealogies¹. We have all rulers down to Harisimhadeva antedated by fifty or sixty or hundred or even five hundred years as we go upwards². King Bhojadeva who ruled in the eleventh century according to MS. is placed three hundred years earlier in 783 A. D.³ Nanyadeva's invasion occurring in c1119-20 is wrongly antedated by two hundred years and to give one more instance, the epoch year of the Nepal era is placed during Nanya's time, though it is referred to the year 811 (+79=890 A. D.) of the Saka era notwithstanding that it makes the whole assertion self contradictory⁴. All the four genealogies have these defects. But the three are even worse than Kirkpatrick's authority for the latter has at least shown a tendency to accuracy of chronological order in contrast to others which are full of mistakes in this matter as well. Again they labour under particular partiality of treatment of subject matter, which leans towards Buddhistic legend in Wright⁵ and Bhagwan Lal's authorities and to Brahmanical

1 Wright p. 138, Bendal, Nep, Cat (Intro) p. 29.

2 *Ibid* p. 175 ; *Ibid*, p. 29.

3 *Ibid* p. 156 ; *Ibid*, p. 29.

4 *Vide* below.

5 Wright, Preface.

legends in Lévi's work¹. This partiality and extreme proneness to adopt legends as facts have in the end infected the few authentic details so that on the whole, they are historically valueless.

Very distinct from these, however, are the three *genealogies* discovered by C. Bandal in the Nepal library. These have withstood the test and verification conducted with reference to MS. data and were found correctly tallying save only in minor details². The best merit attached to these comes out of the fact that they were written in Ns.505 (= 1395 A. D.) so that the account they give must be based on reliable evidence as naturally as it is supposed. For a description of the *Vamsabalis* it must be stated here that the three in fact are only three divisions of one work written by a single individual but disjoined owing to the difference of period they profess to deal with. The first, of course, surveys the whole period from the beginning of the Nepal Era down to 1395 A. D.; but the second and third only supplement each other, the former giving only dates of royal birth from Ns. 177 to Ns. 396 is followed by the latter up to 595 with more details. In spite of certain drawbacks they suffer on account of wide grammatical mistakes, they have in Bandal's words put matters 'in a new

¹ Lévi calls his *Vamsabali* as *Brahmanique V*. In spite of it being written by a Brahmin, it bears close analogy to the Buddhist work. Possibly one is a copy of the other.

² C. Bandal, Nepal. Cat. Intro. pp. 1-4

ibid.

light' and as such have immense value for the student of Nepal history. ¹

But the most valuable historical material in matter of chronology ever obtained is the group of MSS. which constitutes the sole evidence for verifying the data of the *Vamsāvalis* in well-ascertained manner². Hardly need it be said that but for these MSS. the value of the various *genealogies* could not have been judged. The data supplied in the colophon are so far the only reliable evidence for the particular time or reign they were written. They are very brief but furnish the evidence in unfailingly correct way and thus far they are of immense utility to students. These MSS. are in the main deposited in the Maharaja's library in Kathmandu. They are not accessible to the public. A catalogue, however, prepared by Bendal and Hara Prasad Sastri fulfils the present need as they have not omitted the *colophons* in the Catalogue. Apart from that Mr. Bendal has added a summary of the main incidents noted in the *Vamsavalis* in his introduction to the same volume. ³ This and his MS. collection ⁴ of the

¹ *Ibid.*

² See Hara Prasad Sastri's preface to the same also Bendal's introduction to his Cambridge catalogue.

³ This appeared at first as an article in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1903, (Nos. 1 and 2), Part I, LXXII. His Journey in Nepal (1886), is an other indispensable historical treatise.

⁴ This is published in a separate volume in 1902 under the title Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in British Museum.

Cambridge Library have also helped a great deal to arrive at a solution of the problem.¹

Another valuable material has appeared from Chinese and Tibetan notices mentioned chiefly in the contemporary histories of the period, which M. Levi so laboriously collected from the Yuan and Ming annals. There he has noted in detail in his book '*Le Népal*' and also in various issues of the *Journal Asiatique*, to which I have made a reference in particular places. The three *Genealogies* of Bental have been referred to as VI, VII and VIII respectively on the line indicated by their discoverer.²

For the three genealogies we are indebted to Cecil Bental whose indefatigable zeal for MS. search has borne the fruit in the shape of the above-noted materials and the number of MS. works, to which Hara Prasad Shastri's valuable catalogue prepared for the Nepal Library has only supplemented.³ While the student of Nepalese history acknowledges gratefulness to these people, he is reminded at once of equally great and beneficent services of M. Levi whose monumental work '*Le Népal*' stands as a beacon light to future historians.

1 We have further the Hodgeson collection and D. Wright's collection (J. R. A. S. 1876, VIII, 1—52). The following works also are useful : R. Lal Mitra's is the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal' The MSS. noted in Hunter's 'Life of Hodgeson', 1881 and the Leipzig collection.

2 J. A. S. B. *ibid.*, p. 4 (C. P. M. D. W. Intro.)

3 The Catalogue is the result of joint labour. It was published in 1905 under the title 'A Catalogue of palm leaf MSS. in the Durbar Library Nepal.' I have used its abbreviated title *C. P. A., D. N.*, following H. C. Rai.

His work is all embracing and is the pioneer volume to open the great treasure of the past of the little but proud mountainous country. But we remember him mostly for excavating Chinese materials, which are the only foreign accounts, available now on the much controversial problem of Nepalese chronology.¹

Last but not the least and equally important are the various clay coins, copper coins and silver coins, which stand in the same relation to period after 1600 A. D. as the MSS. stand to the time before.² The Nepalese history from 800 A. D. to 1600 A. D. is conspicuous, as Jayaswal calls by 'the absence of coinage.'³ One does not know as to how the economic life of the people could function without the medium of exchange. Probably a solution may be offered by bringing in the Paśupati coins or by ignoring the independent status of Nepal in that period as some people have sought to do. But considering that mere coinage is unable to explain the status of a particular country, the latter argument does not seem plausible, as we have wrongly, also on the basis of

1. Lévi's Chinese accounts are taken from the Annals of the Ming and Yuan noted with full reference at particular places in this article. His book on 'Nepal as well as the number of articles he wrote for 'Journal Asiatique' being in French there has been some difficulty regarding the proper estimate of the book by English speaking people. I have been thinking to translate the book in near future.

2. 'Walsh: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, pp. 677 ff V. Smith. Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum 1906', 1, pp. 281; ff Cunningham: Coins of Ancient India, p. I XIII; Hoernle J. B. A. S., proceedings, May. 1887 K. P. Jayaswal; J. B. O. R. S. 1936; p. 3. III, p. 267.

3. Prof. Rapson's 'Indian coins' in Indo-Arischer philologie und Altertumskunde.

the coins, the period of Nepales history as independent though it was a vassalage of the Moghal Empire and weakened and torn by most unhealthy division in the circumstances. Irrespectively, however, the coins form a connecting link with the MSS. and do provide for us a good and strong ground for the fixation of dates to the reigns after 1630 A.D.

Raghavadeva

How far Jayadeva II's kingdom had been maintained intact is not known except that a few rulers whose identity and contemporaneity are equally doubtful are brought to the scene by the *Vamsavalis* to have ruled in the valley as successors of the Lichhavis. In fact the whole history between Jayadeva II and Raghavadeva is wrapped up in obscurity. About Raghavadeva himself little is known from the *genealogies*. He is not mentioned by the Buddhist legends. Kirkpatrick's is the only authority to make him the founder of the Nepal Era.¹ Similarly about Raghavadeva being a Thakuri we have no other authority than Kirkpatrick and Bendal.² But the latter having got hold of trustworthy documents may be relied on. The point, however, is that the *genealogies* have to be regarded the sole authority in this matter and theirs is the last word. It is not known when the last of the previous dynasty ceased to function as a ruler, instances of double rule being age old and very common the rise and fall of a particular dynasty is subject to utter confusion. But if Raghavadeva were to be regarded as a Thakuri, to which the

¹ Kirkpatrick, p 261.

² Bendal, J. B. A. S, 1903, Table, p. 21.

account of the New-Era under him directs a pointer, he must also be regarded as the first of the restored line so that the four rulers preceding him stand in the old ruler.¹

The fact of the Nepal Era beginning in the year 879-80 is not only important for reasons stated above, but it stands as the pivot for all the dates beginning from that year in view of the large scale manuscript works available for that period, which has rendered the fixation of data for the respective reigns almost very easy.

Rāghavadeva is not mentioned in other Vams'a-balis except that of Kirkpatrick, but as regards the origin of the era in 879-80 no manner of doubt can be entertained as the MSS. coming in only a hundred and fifty years after, have attested the founding of the era in that year.² Each colophon of the MS. also tallies with the statements of the authoritative *chronologies* of Bendal. Formerly when these evidences were absent, historians were prone to base their conclusions on the phantastic assertions of the first group of the *genealogies*, which placed the reign of Nanyadeva as to have occurred only nine years after the epoch of the New Era, though illogically the same authority attributed the Era to Jayadevamalla ruling $(10+25)=35$ years previous.³ For Nanyadeva we have records in Mithila and therefore the baseless character of this assertion and of many others is

¹ See Wright, p. 153. He omits Rāghavadeva but other names have been found to correspond with those in Bendal's list.

² Bendal, Nep. Cat; J. B. A. S., p. 21.

³ Wright, p. 167 I A, XIII, p. 412; Levi, II, pp. 175-79

too glaringly proved to require further explanation. For the Nepalese history of this period Mr. Bendal's researches have enabled us to arrive at correct chronological data and detect the very incongruous estimates of the worthless documents¹.

Consideration of the new Era.

The present year is the 1062nd year of the Nepal Era according to the Newar's Calendar. The Newar month begins in the bright fortnight and ends with the last day of the dark fortnight. It is lunar as well as *Amānta*. The New Year day falls on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kartika.

On the *Amānta* feature of the Era much has been discussed by learned writers like Fleet,² E. Kielhorn³ and M. Lévi⁴. One author, Rai Bahadur Gauri Shankar Ojha,⁵ believed that as it was brought by Nānyadeva it had evidently the character of a Southern Era. So far as Nanyadeva's connection with the Era is concerned, it

¹ Benda's Table, contrast it with Wright: Dr. H. C. Rai also has produced a rearranged list in his 'Dynastic History of India', I, pp. 1230-32 (1931). This book gives a thorough delineation of the chronology of the period.

² Gupta Inscriptions, C. I., I., 3, p. 74.

³ Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, XVII, 1888, Sept., pp. 246 ff.

⁴ M. Lévi, ii, pp. 179-84. Lévi says that it is only an edition of the Saka Era. But how can it be when we see that it was not in vogue before the time of Bhojadeva. The ending 79 has led him to guess that the year was counted by hundreds, the eight hundred previous to 79 being taken as 8. Also see H. C. Rai's Dynastic History of India, ii, p. 194.

⁵ Prachin Lipimala, (Hindi), p. 38.

has been already proved that it is only so according to the wrong estimate of the Vamśabalis, and in fact as the MSS. dating 1007 A. D. have shown, the era existed two hundred years earlier. The latter part of the statement also should not unnerve us, for, we have on the basis of an inscription of Amśu, the *Sundhāra* inscription, which only shows that Amanta Calendar was actually followed in Nepal for times immemorial.* It may be noted here that Āryabhatta's old Siddhanta still held the field. The basic source of the era accordingly will have to be sought elsewhere.

The year 879 A. D.

The month of October of the year 879 A. D.* *i. e.*, of the first year of the Nepal Era must be a very important month, if what we have stated in connection with the founding of the era in that year is true. So far as the Brahman or Buddhist Vamśabalis are concerned they have retained cryptic silence as regards the occasion of the epoch. We can, however, imagine that the Era must have some great event as the commemoration intended by the epoch does so imply. It is certainly not the defeat of the Tibetans, which it

* I. A., XV, p. 38; see K. P. Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S. 1936, p. 166, iii.

* C. S. B. M., pp. 147, 151, 168; Bendal Journey, p. 80 I. A., IX, p. 183.

Read the above for the Amānta and to know that the Era commenced with Vikrama Era 937 expired. Kirkpatrick's Vamśabali states that Raghavadeva founded a *Vikramajit Era*. But it was not that Era, hence Prinsep and Cunningham attributed the new Era to Raghava. See useful Tables, 1858, p. 269, and Indian Eras, p. 74.

seeks to convey, as that took place nearly one hundred and fifty years back. Of all the writers M. Lévi alone believes that the Tibetans held Nepal up till 879 A. D., in which year Nepal extricated herself from the clutches of her enemies. He has, of course, no evidence to fall on in the T'ang history.¹ He does so only as he finds the expansion of Tibet in the north and north-west as far as Khotan in that century under the Commandership of Khristrongbilson. But Tibet had a check in the south and once it was a disastrous failure, the invasion could not have been directed to that side. This is the only conclusion we can arrive at if the probability be taken into account.

Another explanation of Lévi that the era came to be adopted quite accidentally or because the number eight was inauspicious, eight here probably in terms of the Saka Era, seems as much untenable as there is no such superstition prevailing amongst the Newars or the people of Nepal in general. Nor, it was a version of the Saka Era enumerated according to *Lokakāla*.²

What appears to be the right cause of the era is the fact of Thakuri restoration. We learn from the inscriptions—and this has been established beyond doubt that Amśuvarman founded a Thakuri era in 595 A. D.³ At that date the

¹ Lévi, ii, pp. 178—79.

² Lévi's view. See also *Epigraphica Indica*. Baijnath Praasasti i, pp. 107-15.

³ J. B. O. R. S. 1936, iii, p. 166 ff.

Lichhavis were carving out a precarious existence in the valley and as the king happened to be too much dependent on the Premier, *i. e.*, on Amśuvarm, he was relegated in the back-ground. But after Amśuvarman the Thakuris lost power and it was not until 879 A. D. that they could regain it.¹ That year marks the end of the Lichhavi rule as well as the restoration of the Thakuri dynasty. The chronicles on the whole have made a mistake in putting Raghava in the old list of Thakuris.² Thakuri he was, but the list contains all Lichhavis who are wrongly called Thakuris. In fact the names down to Rāghavadeva must be removed to the first list under the caption No. II, *i. e.*, the second line restored by Udayadeva. That Rāghava's line was a new line is indicated by VI which begins entirely a new chapter, in fact, a new *genealogy* commencing with him. Bendal points out that this indicates unlike the other *Vms* a break in the old order and necessarily has to be commemorated by founding the era. (J. B.A.S., 1903, Part I.)

The First dated MS.*

Unfortunately no dated MS. exists for the time of Raghavadeva. The first MS. dates Nepal Era (*Nepala Samvat*) 128 (=1007 A. D.) copied in the reign of Nirbhayadeva and Rudra-

1 This I have discussed in my 'Early History of Nepal'.

2 See Kirkpatrick, p. 262.

* The MS. *संकावतार* is dated S.28 but there is no mention of contemporary ruler. (Cal. 140).

3 Catalogue of Buddhist MSS. in Cambridge Library p. 4.

deva, joint rulers.¹ The next *MS* अष्टसाहसिका प्रज्ञापार मित्ता gives a joint rule under three monarchs, Rudradeva, Bhojadeva and Lakshmi-kamadeva in the year 135 N. S. (=1014 A. D.). It appears that the period before N. S. 128 back to Raghavadeva cannot be filled as such by MSS for lack of them. But we have a statement of V^{II} which says that Rāghava and his successors ruled for 135 years. Kirkpatrick's authority allots 134 years to the same, so that he too may be declared to have agreed² on the basis of his date the V^I has fixed the number of years amounting to no less and no more than 128 years.³ As this again, on the authority of MSS is found to be absolutely correct, I have given the following enumeration accordingly.

Rāghavadeva	.. 879 A. D.
Jayadeva	.. 46 years
Vikramadeva	.. 8 years 9 months
Narendradeva	.. 1 year 6 months
Guaṇkāmadeva	.. 65 years 5 months
	(mistaken by ink 85)
Udayadeva	5 yeras 5 months *

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According to Buddhist chronicles who omit Rāghavadeva and Udayadeva, Baladeva ruled for 13 years, Jayadeva for 15 years, Bālārjunadeva for

1 निर्भय देव रुद्र देवस्य विजय राज्ये

2 C. S. B. M. pp. 151-52, M. S. No. 1643.

3 Kirkpatrick, p. 262.

4 Bendal's Table in J. A. S. B. op. cit.

* See Bendal's list in his journey to Nepal.

12 years, Vikramadeva for 12 years and Gunakamadeva for 51 years. The total, however is only 103 years. If we add Sankradeva and Vardhamana the total becomes exactly 128 years. As Sankradeva occurs in Kirkpatrick as the immediate successor of Raghavadeva, he may be taken in the new list. But it is impossible to accept Varadeva as Raghavadeva. Perhaps his name must be taken as dropped out without trying further for untenable identification.¹

As to who was Rāghava's immediate predecessor there is some speculation. The various lists have displayed a great variance in this respect. Bendal's list does not mention him, as its starting point is the year 879 A. D. According to Kirkpatrick Balargunadeva is the father of Raghavadeva.² Whatever may be his relation he is no. 1 Balargunadeva. If he is Raghava's father, then the line of the Lichhavis must end long before 879 A. D. Kirkpatrick has introduced five princes in between Jayadeva II and Raghavadeva with a total reign of 121 years. Thus Jayadeva II's reign would be pushed to C 758 A. D. But that is the date of his Ins. C (No. 15)*. The correct result, however would be obtained by striking off the duplicate name of Jayadeva coming

¹ Wright, p. 133-39; I. A., XIII, pp. 411-12 Levi, II, p. 184.

² Kirkpatrick, op. cit, p. 262.

Sankradeva built Sankhu, a town on the north-eastern corner of the valley. The goddess *ugratarā* dwells in the hill above the town. Gunakamadeva built Kantipur; modern Kathmandu at the confluence of the two rivulets, Bagmati and Bishnumati,

* See Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 178, GI, p. 186-87.

third after him and distributing the 42 years between Raghava and Jaya II. Kirkpatrick's authority does not seem so wide of the mark if the list is thus arranged¹.

In the line of Rāghavadeva Gunakamadeva is given a prominent place by the *Vms*². He is the founder of Kantipur†. The date is wrongly given nearly two hundred years before, *i. e.*, in Kalijuga 3824 [724 A. D.] Levi (II, p. 185) infers from the founding of the towns in this period that a particular stage of progress was visible in the economic life of the people. As noted in the T'ang history (i. p. 164) the populace was gradually being adopted to follow commercial profession and manual arts, like painting, modelling etc. The last were preserved as late as the last century.³

Main outline of events and chronology

The line of Rāghavadeva ended with Jayadeva‡ according to Bendal. Wright's and Indra's authorities also take the line to have ended with him, *i. e.* with Jayakamardeva whose predecessor's dated MS we have already cited. (अब्दे शते षट्कविंशतिगते). Though K's(v) has mentioned the following line in the same continuity, the other *Vms* have been

¹ Nandadeva of this line is, according to some (Wright) the founder of the Salivahana Era in Nepal.

² Wright, p. 154; Levi, II, p. 185;

† Kantipur is the old name of the town of Kathmandu, Patan was then the capital. Most of the present town and cities owe their origin to this period.

³ *Vide* below.

‡ He is known also as Vijayadeva (Bhagwan Lal). His Predecessor-Lakshmi Kamadeva ruled as a sole King before him (MS 1683, dates 159).

found to have agreed on this point. The joint regime probably ended in 1039 A. D. for in that year Laksmi-Kamadeva is shown to have ruled alone (cf MS. Addl. 2191. (सद्धर्म पुण्डरिका) *). Jayadeva has no MSS, probably because he ruled only for a short time and that also only in Lalita Patan according to V¹, which led him to be entirely missed and disowned by the chroniclers¹. The Tibetans had passed through Nepal in 1038 A. D. to fetch Dipankar Sri *alias* Atisha of Vikramshila.

From a statement in the Vms of Wright and B. Lal, we have a new line of the Nawakot Thakuri in the scene †Levi's authority is of opinion that the founder of this line Bhaskaradeva was formerly a Governor in Patan.² He refused to pay homage to the King. The Manju Sri-Multantra's statement depicts a scene of disorder (Levi, i, p. 64) and a feudal anarchy in the country, which taken literally would mean the state Jayadeva found himself in. The fact that he was a ruler in Deb Patan suggests also the correctness of the statement that he was not obeyed in other districts. The King seems to have afterwards retired to a private life in Palpa. Taranath tells us that Atisha met only a local ruler in the valley in 1040 A. D. and the sovereign having resided at Palpa in the west he had proceeded thither³. His name is given as Ananta Kirti [Grags-pa-mtha-yas]. As we have a MS. of the

* C. B. M. C. P. 172.

¹ Bendal table, J. A. S. B., 1903, Part I, p. 22

² Kikpatrick, p. 263; Levi, II, p. 193.

† Wright, p161, IA, XIII, p413.

³ Life of Atiśa, translated by Sarat Chandra Das in Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, I, 25-30, Levi, i, p.167.

next reign *i. e.* of Bhaskaradeva dated Ns. 167 [1046 A. D.], there is no doubt that he was not meant for *Ananta Kirti*. There is no identity between the two names, Ananta Kirti and Jayadeva as apparently considered. But Ananta Kirti's existence may be established by the discovery of his identity with *Yasonath*, the father of Vana-deva (Bendal, Ins. V)¹. M. Lévi considers Yasonath not in any way related to the throne in Nepal². भूनाथ according to him does not signify Kingship. Bendal and others identifying Banadeva with Bama-deva of Ns. 204 recognise Yasonath as a King. We will consider the latter factor on particular occasion, but one thing will have to be borne in mind and that is the view of *Vms* as regards the origin of a new line under Vamadeva. The chronology of this prince is a matter of difficult enumeration, while the inscription is a proof of his existence, he is not noted in the *Vms*³. It is, however, likely that Yasonath might have been a *de jure* ruler, whom Atisha met in Palpa. Though the *Vms* have taken a unanimous stand in noting Jayadeva as having no legal successor, we may take him to have a brother Yasonath who had to remain on exile in Palpa when the Governor of Kantipur uprooted the dynasty of his brother. This fact also coincides with the evidence of Palpa genealogy that there was no king of his name in the list given by Bhavadutta.⁴ Vamadeva's

¹ Bendal: Journey, p. 79 C. P. M. D. N. (Intro) p. 6. Tib notices in J. Buddh T. S. Ind, Vol I, p. 27.

² Lévi, ii, p. 196.

³ They have noted only Vamadeva,

⁴ See Historical Records Commission Report, XIII, p. 62.

succession later on was a restoration of the old dynasty.

Towards 1040 A. D. Nepal as already hinted was visited by Atisha who had responded to the desire of the King of Tibet, Lha Lama Jnāna Sri, that he should preach in his domain.¹ Atisha is credited to have introduced novel features in Māhāyāna form of Buddhism and it is not unlikely that his presence in Nepal would have influenced the type prevailing there. Perhaps the Tantric form of Māhāyāna dates from his visit, to which the Lamaism he founded in Tibet further added greater lustre and revolutionery changes in worship matters. Nepal had become the channel through which the Pāla Kings propagated their Vajrayāna doctrines.² Atiśa's visit in the valley is probably noted under the mythical story of Matsyendranāth, a Vajrayāna teacher of that century³.

1 Lévi, II, p. 194, Taranath, *ibid*, p. 253-55.

2 History of Indian and Indo-nesian Art by A. Coomarasvamy, p.144.

3 Wright, p. 151. The account mentions that Ārya Avalokiteśwara, the third Buddha, took the shape of a fish. Wright's authority wrongly puts him back during Narendra-deva's reign.

Miscellaneous Articles

TWO JAINA IMAGES

By ADRIS BANERJI

The district of Manbhum happens to be the eastern part of Chota-Nagpur division of the present province of Bihar. It is bounded on the north, by the districts of Bankura and Midnapur, on the south by Singhbhum, and on the west by Hazaribagh. In reality the district is the first step of a gradual descent from the Chota-Nagpur plateau to the Gangetic delta.

Very little of the early history of the territory is known to us. No written records exist, and systematic exploration has yet to be made. In the 7th century of the Christian era, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, indicates that, it was probably included in the kingdom of Karna-suvarna. The antiquarian remains point to the conclusion that, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism had all once flourished in this region. In some places, the Jaina element is more prominently marked, and in other places Bramhminical structures are superimposed over Jaina ruins. The late Mr. J. D. Beglar, who carried out the first archaeological survey of the district in 1862-63, suggests that these remains of a flourishing civilisation are totally inconsistent with the situation and character of the locality, and are to be accounted for by the

fact that, there were roads running through this area in ancient days connecting Gaya, Pāṭaliputra, Rājgir, Benares and Tāmralipti. He further pointed out that most of the ruins mentioned by him lies along one such route labouriously traced by him¹. We are possibly richer in knowledge than Beglar. The present day backwardness of a district, is no sure indication of judging its condition and culture in bygone days. Analogies are always bad, but the present writer may point out the instances of Afghanistan, Beluchistan and Sindh, where flourishing civilisation existed millenniums before Christ. This re-capitulation had become necessary, to understand the value of a relief that is being discussed below.

Pakbirra is now a small village situated 25 miles south-west of Purulia in the pargana of Bagda of the Manbhum district. It contains many fragmentary images principally Jaina. The most noteworthy of sculptures noticed by Beglar at Pakbirra is a *digambara* Jaina image or a *tīrthaṅkara* in *kāyotsarga* attitude 7½' in height, which was then being worshipped by the local people as Bhirām. The lotus symbol on the pedestal indicates that it was an image of Śreyāṃśanātha. The slab which is being described here was found by Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S. (Retired). Its present whereabouts are unknown to me. On this slab we find a woman in full maturity, with right hand broken standing under a tree; with her left hand she holds an arm of a child, on her right is the diminutive figure of a man,

1. Cunningham-Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol. viii, pp. 51, ff.

and on the pedestal is found the fore-part of a lion. On either side at the top we find images of *vidyā-dharas*.

It is unmistakable that the figure is that of a Jaina *yakṣiṇī*. Reliefs and images depicting various scenes of the complicated Jaina mythology, are so rare that these two pieces are most welcome additions to our knowledge. Unfortunately Jaina mythology so long happened to be a subject of which very little was known. Recently Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has placed a wealth of material at our disposal by collecting the data from unpublished Jaina manuscripts¹. I am indebted to this work, as well as personal guidance I received from my friend, for the successful interpretation of the stele. In my opinion the stele represents Ambikā, who has various other names, such as Dharmma-devī Agnilā etc. The story is being given below.

In the city of Girinagara there lived a brahmin family, consisting of Somaśarmman—the husband and his wife Agnilā. On the day of *śrāddha* ceremony of his ancestors and feeding of brahmins, a Jaina ascetic named Varadatta, called at the brahmin's house, during his absence, to break his fast after a month. Agnilā fed him sumptuously from the food cooked for the brahmins and relatives of Somaśarmman—little realising that this act of charity on her part might be resented by her husband, as well as by the invited guests. In the scene that followed the brahmin drove out his

1. T. N. Ramachandran-Tiruparuttikunram and its temples
Bulletins of the Madras Museum. N. S. Vol. i, No. 3.

wife, who accompanied by a female attendant and her two sons, went to the Urjjayanta hill, where Varadatta was doing penance. She requested the ascetic to give her initiation which he refused. The mortified lady took her abode on an elevated portion of the hill under the shade of a tree which later on became the *Kalpa-vṛkṣa*.

In the meantime Somasarmman, having repented for his harshness arrived on the Urjjayanta hill in search of his wife. Agnilā, who saw her husband from a distance, gave her sons in charge of the attendant woman, and killed herself by falling from a precipice. The next moment she was born in a family of *vynātaras** as a *yakṣiṇī* called Ambikā. But she remembered her past life, and affection for her sons drove her to them, but as her *yakṣiṇī* form might frighten the boys she assumed her former appearance and lived with them. Somasarmman sought her forgiveness, to whom she revealed her *yakṣiṇī* appearance. Realising that his wife Agnilā no longer lived due to his temperamental behaviour, the poor brahmin out of remorse, threw himself from the same rock and died, but according to his *karma* was born as a lion; and so deep was his devotion for his wife that, he sat at her feet licking them, and eventually became her *vāhana*. The sons for a long time led the life of Jaina householders and during the *samvasarana* of Neminātha, the 22nd *tīrthaṅkara* they got *dīkṣā*, and thus obtained salvation.

* A kind of demi-gods. There are eight kinds of such *devas*.

While the mother became a *yakṣiṇī* or the attendant spirit of Neminātha, ever standing on one side, the other side was occupied by *yakṣa* Gomedha or Sarvāhṇa.

There is another slab now to be found within the enclosed hall in the great temple on the top of the Deogarh hill. This slab too was known to the Indologist for a long time, but no attempt seems to have been made to identify it. The slab was chiselled in low relief. In this we find a mature woman standing under a tree, with a child on her left hip, and a lion sitting at her left foot. While she holds fruits to a diminutive human figure at her right feet. It is evident that the tree under which she stands, and amongst branches of which have been carved on either side, the figures of *vidyā-dharas*, is a *kalpa-vṛkṣa*, just above the head is a sitting figure of a *tīrthaṅkara*, no doubt that of Neminātha. The lion, the child, all indicate that it is a figure of Agniḥ, Ambikā or Dharma-Devī like that first described.

The sculpture is remarkable for elegance. The head wearing a *mukuta* has been beautifully chiselled and full of compassion. The full bosom end in attenuated waist. The arms are rounded and full, though the legs are somewhat stiff. The whole figure is enclued with a feeling of softness. The technique here is not so rude as in the previous instance. It might easily be placed in the 11th or 12th Century of the Christian era.

NOTES ON KHARAKPUR

By AMARENDRA NATH SINHA

Dr. Buchanan was a contemporary of Raja Qadir Ali and we learn from him that the Raja was a man of plain and unaffected manners and exceedingly obliging. He was mild and just but expensive. Raja Qadir Ali was involved in pecuniary difficulties and in order to extricate himself he had farmed the rents of almost his whole estates to a person who advanced him large sums of money. This farmer having great authority was said to abuse it by oppressing the tenants.

Raja Qadir Ali was succeeded by Iqbal Ali Khan and the latter by Raja Rahmat Ali Khan the last Raja of Kharakpur. Raja Rahmat Ali had also troubles with Jhabban Singh the ghatwal of Handwe and on the 13th February 1832 the Raja had to petition the Collector about Jhabban Singh's non-payment of rent. Mr. Ward the special Commissioner appointed under Regulation VIII of 1822 in his report in November 1833 noted that Handwe tenure was then enjoyed by Jhabban Singh free of rent. In 1839 Raja Rahmat Ali fell into arrears of revenue in consequence, he alleged, of embezzlement by his agents at Monghyr who had quite enough money in their possession to

pay the Government demand. The Raja thus fell a victim to the inexorable sun-set law and the whole of his property except Haveli Kharakpur was sold on the 29th January 1840 and Raja Bidyanand Singh of Purnea, the ancestor of the present proprietors of Raj Banaili and one Balanath Sahu became the purchasers of the estate ; later on Balanath Sahu's share was taken over by Raj Banaili. In 1845 the residue of the estate of Raja Rahmat Ali Khan met with a similar fate and it was purchased by the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

The Kharakpur Raj by far the largest estate in this part of the country which had once its birth in treachery and murder met with its ends in treachery too. Raja Rahmat Ali Khan, bereft of his Raj died in 1852 and was buried at his special request at the entrance of his Imamabara.* This Rajput Muslim family of Kharakpur occupies a very large space in the early history of the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.

Before we close let us take a note of the remains to be found at Kharakpur. Dr. Buchanan who visited Kharakpur in the early 19th Century (1810-111 A. D.) at the time of Raja Qadir Ali gives the following description:—

“ Even the houses of the Raja of Kharakpur although it contains some small portions of brick is but a sorry place. Near it, however he has a very handsome mosque overhanging the Man in a

1. When I visited Kharakpur on the 13th October 1941 I could not trace any sign of the burial. I was told by Abdur Rhman Khan, the moazzim of Raja Beh Roz's Mosque that the grave was a Katchha one.

fine situation, while he is erecting opposite a building that promises to be ornamental, and is intended to celebrate the memory of the grandson of the Prophet. The vicinity is ornamented by the ruins of a house that belonged to his grandfather, and went to ruin during the insurrection which he raised against the last remnants of the Moghul force¹. It has been a very large building and looks more like an old European castle than anything that I have seen".

If one proceeds to Kharakpur by road from Bariarpur the first that is to be noticed is the Imambara of Raja Rahmat Ali,—on the right hand side of the road facing the river Man and another ruined structure on the other bank of the river,—on the entrance of which the Raja is said to have been buried at his special request. This is the only ruin on this side of the river. Moving forward there is the bridge over the river Man. From the bridge one gets the picturesque view of the three-domed Mosque. Just on the right hand side of the point where the bridge touches the other side of the river there stands a ruined structure, some say that it was the store-house

1. Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I. C. S. (in Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers—Monghyr, Revised Edition 1926 at p. 225) writes: "There is, however, a ruined palace built by Raja Beh Roz, adjoining which is a three-domed mosque picturesquely situated on the river Man. A marble slab in one of the walls shows that it was built in 1068 A. H. i. e. 1656 A. D. during the reign of Shah Jahan". The date should be 1068 A. H.

The picture of the mosque is annexed to this article. Photographs were taken by Mr. Suhas Chandra Sen when I visited Kharakpur.

of the Raja. This ruin might be the building about the erection of which Dr. Buchanan has referred to in his journal. The road then leads to a big ruined palace on its left hand side, and another branch road through its own branch leads to the mosque of Raja Beh Roz which still gives a fine view both inside and outside.

On the road that leads to Tarapur (from Kharakpur), three miles away from Kharakpur there are two temples and two tanks facing one another on each side of the road. They are called Raja Rani Talao (tank) and are reminiscent of the days when the Rajas of Kharakpur were still Rajputs. The place was their hunting ground. The temple and the tank on the south of the road are attributed to one of the Rajas and those on the north to one Rani Chandravati¹.

Though Kharakpur contains few remains to attest the once greatness of its Rajas it is one of the most historic of the well-known historical places in the Bhagalpur Division in Bihar. Clothed with the mantle of history and scenes of beauty as its back-ground stands this small town close to the eastern flank of a range of hills known as Kharakpur range.

¹ Monghyr Gazetteer Revised Edition 1926 Op. Cit. P. 225.



Genealogy of Kharakpur Raj.

SINGHAL RAI.

Dandu Rai
Proclaimed himself Raja
after killing Raja Sasanka on
the night of 7th Aghan 910 F.s.
= 1503 A. D.

Rup Sahi.

Vasudeb Rai (or Bas Deo
or Basu Deo).

Mahindre Rai (or Mahendar
or Mahadeo, or Meghnder).

Sangram Sahi
succeeded in 946 F.s. (1539 A. D.)
Assassinated in 1008 F.s.
(1601 A. D.).

: Rani Chandrajot
(or Chandrajyoti).

Narendra Rai.

1st Mahomedan wife,
daughter of Bazbahadur or
daughter of a noble.

Toral Mal
Became Raja Roz Afzun (in
power from 1615 A. D.)
Died in 1038 F.s. (1631 A. D.)
but according to W. W. Hunter
died about 1635 A. D.—
Hunter's view is supported by
that of Mughul historians.
(By his Hindu wife).

= 2nd Mahomedan wife,
Bega Sultana, daughter of
Morad Buksh, the King's
uncle (according to Buchanan)
and the first cousin of the
Emperor.

Raja Beh Koz (Sinh).

Abdul Singha (Shah) or
Adil Singh.

Thakur Sinh (became
Darwesh).

Raja Tahuyar Singh
or Tahawwur or Jawa-
har Singh).

Hoseyn-Kungyar

Bahurbur-Kungyar.

Kungyar-Garshayestah.

Muhammad Coobaz (and six others).
The eldest son Coobaz of Tahuyar went
to Delhi became sword-bearer of
Aurangzeb but died before accession.

Raja Arzus (or Arjast) or Roz Afzun
iani (the second) succeeded in 1134 F.s.
Died in 1141 F.s. (1734 A. D.)

Muhammedazum or Abedsur.

Raja Mozuffar Ali,
(Died at the end of 1773).

Fuzulali or Faiz Ali (and others).
(Died in 1776 A. D.)

Raja Qadir Ali,
Restored to the Raj
on 15th September, 1780

Iqbal Ali Khan.

Raja Rahmat Ali Khan,
Died in 1852.



THE INDRA-VṚTRA WAR AND THE 'SERPENT PEOPLE'.

By R. OJHA

"The subject of ancient mythology", remarks Frazer, "is involved in dense mists, which it is not always possible to penetrate and illumine even with the lamps of comparative method. Demonstration in such matter is rarely, if ever, attainable; the utmost that a candid enquirer can claim for his conclusions is a reasonable degree of probability. Further researches may clear up the obscurity which still rests on the myth of Slaughter of the Dragon.....".¹ A comparative study of the Indian myth on this subject with similar other myths is attempted below.

The Vedic myth about the Indra-Vṛtra struggle is well-known and need not be retold here. It has been interpreted in thousand and one ways *e. g.* as a solar myth, a creation myth, a myth about the change of seasons etc.² However, similar myths are found in the mythologies of various peoples mostly pre-Aryan

¹ The Dying god. (The Golden Bough vol. IV) p. 112.

² Cf. *Infra*. This was mostly due to the philological school of interpretation of Max Muller who explained even the whole Trojan war as a solar myth.

of S. W. Asia. In Summer-Babylonia we have the myth of Bel Marduk *vs.* Tiamat the dragon; in Egypt of Ra *vs.* Apop.¹ The Jews have the myth of Jehovah *vs.* the Dragon (called variously Leviathan, Behemoth or Rahab); and the Hittites, of Inaras, the son of Teshalb *vs.* Ilu-yankas;² in Greece, the myth appears in the struggle of Apollo *vs.* the Python and also of Poeres *vs.* Gorgon-Medusa; in Persia of Feridun *vis.* Azi-Dahak etc.

There is also much similarity among all these myths. The Biblical, Hittite and Greek myths also perhaps the Egyptian ones are held by scholars to be greatly influenced by the Babylonian one. Similarly the Persian myth is usually regarded as having been greatly influenced by the Indian myth. So the Babylonian and the Vedic myths seem to be prominent. Now comparing them we find that:—

(1) The gods in both cases, *vis.*, Indra and Marduk have many affinities. Thus (a) Indra is a water-deity, and similarly Marduk,³ was the son of Ea the ocean-god and a water-deity; (b) Indra was a god of light and so was Marduk; (c) Similarly both were gods of vegetation and fertility etc., (d) Both the deities used in their fights the same or similar weapons *vis.* thunder-bolt, which was Marduk's "great weapon",⁴

1 ERE. XI. p. 403.

2 JRAS. 1922 pp. 177—90.

3 More correctly Merri—(or Meri—) Dug-Chaldea (by Ragozin) p. 160.

4 Chaldee p. 289 f.

'pointed weapon' (arrows (?) which was used in both cases) etc.

(2) The two Dragons have many affinities. (a) they seem to have similar names.¹ The Babylonian one is called *Tiāmat* while the Vedic one is generally called '*Vṛtra*'. But the term '*Tāimāt*' is used in the same sense very often in the *Av.*,² (b) Both are associated with ocean or water and with darkness, (c) both use their jaws and in the fight etc.

(3) Both the gods are helped in their fights by the wind-gods³ who have similar names *viz.*, the *Maruts* in India and *Mermer*, the Babylonian wind-god⁴ who at *Marduks* command, "entered her' (*Tiamātes*) body and filled her violence".⁵

(4) The conclusions of the fights are similar. The dragons are killed. *Marduk* "created the present heaven and earth by splitting the huge carcas of the monster into halves and setting one of them to form the sky while the other half.... he used to fashion the earth"⁶ Similarly *Indra* produced heaven and earth after killing the dragon. Both the gods also produced light after the same feat.

1 Or rather the same name. The change being very minor cf. *Infra*.

2 *AV.* V. 13.6; V. 18.4. The *Av.* it ought to be remembered, preserves the ancient pre-Aryan traditions of India better than the *Rv.* in many cases.

3 *Chaldea* p. 290; *V. M.* p. 158.

4 *Ibid* p. 240.

5 *Ibid* p. 290.

6 The *Dying* god pp. 105 f.

Again comparing all the various dragon-myths, we come to the following generalisations, *viz.*

(1) The gods in all cases have much in similarity. We have already considered Indra and Marduk. Similarly Ra of Egypt and Apollo of Greece were gods of light and also "of agriculture and stock-raising" etc. The Hittite god Indras was the son of Teshub who was, like Indra, "the god of the sky and the thunder". These gods, moreover, everywhere appear as 'champion of civilisation' against the 'dark forces'. The Jewish Jehovah was also the god of light, the patron of civilisation etc.

(2) The dragons also (?) many points of similarity. They are always associated with water or ocean. Vrtra is well-known while Tiāmat was a 'Dragon of the Sea'. The Jewish dragon was also associated with the Sea and Jehovah bound him and set him in the sea again to be conquered.¹ Apap of Egypt "dwelt in the ocean over which he travelled in the divine boat of Ra....".² The Greek myths also associate the dragons with the Sea.

(3) Everywhere they are represented as monsters and are associated with the principles of evils and darkness as against the 'gods'. Vrtra need not be dealt upon. Tiāmat was "the impersonation of chaos, the power of darkness and lawlessness". The Biblical Serpent is Evil-incar-

¹ Ezekiel, XXXII. 2 f.

² E. R. E. XI. p 403 a.

nate and is the cause of the "fall" of man. The Egyptian Apap was always against the gods, "the destroyers of souls", who sought to "upset Ra's divine boat". Python is well-known and "personified the dark and dangerous forces of the underworld".¹

(4) The results of the fights are also similar *viz.* the victory of light over darkness or of civilisation over chaos etc.

It would be too much to draw any conclusion from a mere short sketch-study like this. But one thing is very clear *viz.* the affinity of all these myths. It may be due to a common origin or to borrowing or to any such thing. But it seems very propable that the origin of this myth is pre-Aryan and thus the greatest of the Vedic myth is, most probably, pre-Aryan.² At the same time we find traces of a serpent worship often existing most probably prior to these myths or side by side with them.

1 A History of the Ancient World (Rostovtzeff), p. 232.

2 P. Mitra in his prehistoric India, referring to the killing of the dragon Kaliya by Kṛṣṇa (this myth very probably is a later version of the Vedic Indra-Vrtra myth), says 'He (Kṛṣṇa) subdued the Naga chief Kaliya and the Mahenjo-Daro plaque of a divinity of a worshipped by Nagas may point to Krishna' (pre-historic India, p. 275). The reference is to a tablet of blue faience with the picture of a "figure seated cross-legged.....with a kneeling worshipper to right and left and behind the worshipper a Naga....." (Ibid p. 267) In the light of these considerations this may point rather to Indra the defeater of the Nagas rather than Kṛṣṇa who appear very late in Indian mythology.

In the Vedas we have 'Ahirbudhnya' the Dragon of the Deep'.¹ Serpents are also addressed in Vedic hymns and worshipped.² In Babylonia, Ea, the father of Marduk "had serpent-symbol and was called 'god of river and of the great snake'....In the boundary-stones recording sales of land, a snake is a prominent figure, perhaps symbolising Ea....Serpents were believed to guard holy places and were set up on entrances of temples and palaces".³ In the Cannanite land a brass serpent has been found and scholars that the serpent was worshipped by the Jews prior to the days of Hezekiah.⁴ After all "the connection of the serpent with the devil is nowhere hinted at in the old Testament but appears first in Wisdom 2.24 and was a Rabbinic conception".⁴ Moreover, as a writer remarks, "it is doubtful whether the serpent was intended in the original story (of the Bible) to be evil. More likely he was a divine being with superior knowledge and a kindly desire to help man to knowledge denied to them by other divinities. A later recension made his acts have evil consequences and therefore he himself have evil intentions".⁵ The serpent was one of the most important object of worship in Egypt and

¹ He seems to be the prototype of the Purāṇik 'Sēṣanag'. The Elamites had gods called by similar names e. g. 'Susunak' etc. Cf. The Egyptian 'Sheshenak' etc.

² AV. Xi. 9; V. M. p. 153.

³ ERE. XI. p. 403.

⁴ ERE. XI. p. 403.

⁵ ERE. XI. p. 403.

Minoan Crete.¹ Hellenic Greece also had many serpent deities, *e. g.* Aklespios Poseidon Erechthens² and Zeus and Dionysus often took the form of serpent.³ The Hittite name of the dragon *i. e.* Illu-yankas means a serpent-god.⁴

How to reconcile these two kinds of facts? Now it is well-known that in ancient days a war between two peoples was represented as a war between their gods. Perhaps that was the case here as well and these myths preserve the faint memory of the defeat of ancient serpent-worshipping peoples. They are known to have existed. Frazer thinks "that Delphi, Thebes, Salamis and Athens were once ruled by Kings who had in modern language, a serpent or dragon for their crest and were believed to migrate at death into the bodies of these beasts".⁵ There was a dynasty of Python in Greece.⁶ The serpent-people of Egypt are well-known. Coming to India we find the same thing. The Serpent-people constitute one of the most important sections of Non-Aryans of India, many theories have been propounded about the 'Nāgas' sophisticating plain

1 Cf. Appendix D.

2 Who shared the fate of other serpent deities *viz.* a defeat at the hands another deity *viz.* Athena.

3 ERE. VI. p. 418 b. Cf. XI. p. 404.

4 IRAS. 1922, pp. 177—90.

5 The Dying god. p. 105. So also Agamemnon, Achilles et. the heroes of the Trojan war had serpent hoods over their heads. Cf. figg. in 'The Unrivalled History of the World. Vol. II. p. 554.

6 ERE. XI. p. 404.

facts by symbolic and mystic interpretations.¹ But the Nāgas, or Sarpas as they are often called, were "a strangely gifted race of actual men".² They were non-Aryans, associated with the Dravidian Stock and many peoples still claim descent from them, *e. g.*, Khonds, Gonds, the rulers of Pegu in Burma, the Nagas of Assam, the Nairs etc. in South India, many tribes in the Punjab etc. etc.³ The Nagas were thus spread over the whole of India from the Indus valley where the city of Pātāla was their capital, to Assam and the Malabar coast. In fact the history of pre-Aryans or rather non-Aryans in India is the history of these Nagas⁴ who have been rightly identified by Oldham etc. with the Dravidians or the Danavas or the Asuras etc. They have again and again risen against the Indo-Aryan Supremacy.⁵ References to them are abundant in both the Purāṇic and the Vedic traditions. Most of the so-called 'demons' in the Vedas seem to be Nāga chiefs. Thus 'Śuṣṇa' had a 'brood' and was 'hissing' and 'Arbuda' appears to be 'cognate in nature to Ahi' and is mentioned

¹ Cf. References in Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore pp. 2-4 etc.

² Buddhist India, p. 223; Cf. Asura India, pp. 96 f.

³ The Sun and Serpent (oldham). The children of the Sun pp. 132-34; 282-83..Indian Serpent Lore p. 23 etc. etc.

⁴ A great step towards it has been taken recently by the publication of the history of the 'Vakataka Nagas' by K. P. Jayaswal.

⁵ *e. g.* after the Bhārata War, the Kingdoms of Taxila etc. so also of the Vakataka Nagas etc. etc.

with him.¹ Similar is the case with Vala, Piprv, Ilibisa etc.² All of these had forts etc.³ So also Vṛtra, according to the Purāṇic traditions was a Brāhmaṇa and a king with 'Śukra as his preceptor and Indra was accused of Brāhmaṇicide for killing him and had to perform propitiatory rites for it.⁴ Similarly the Mahenjo Daro faience tablet with the serpents behind the two kneeling worshippers, referred to above⁵ seems to be depicting the two worshippers with serpent-hoods and they might be belonging to the Naga race.⁶ These facts may be endlessly multiplied. Thus the existence of Serpent-worshipping and so serpent-peoples seem to be now beyond the region of doubt. The race or races seem to have spread from the Mediterranean coasts, along the sea-coasts and river deltas right up to the Indian coasts and plains and even perhaps onwards. These myths about the killing of dragon

1 V. M. pp. 159—60.

2 *Vide* Soven Index. p. 754; AIHT p. 307 etc. In the Vedas also Vṛtra is a king with 99 forts (Rv. vii. 19.5 etc.). But he is also said to be a hissing serpent and a demon. Of these two accounts, evidently the Purāṇic one preserves an earlier tradition for the evolution of the character of the non-Aryans in ancient literature is always from good to bad and not *vice versa* (cf. the case of the 'Asura' etc.). So Vṛtra could not have been regarded first as a demon and then as a Brāhmaṇa. The case ought to be opposite. So he might have been originally an non-Aila priestly king. (cf. AIHT. ch. XXVI etc.).

3 *Vide* Supra, Prehistoric India, p. 267.

4 This seems to be more possible in view of the fact that the lower Indus region was the seat of the Nagas according to our tradition, with Pātāla, a town continuing right up to historic period, as their capital.

might be preserving the memory of the defeat of these peoples. As has been the case in history again and again the conquerors and the conquered later on intermingled and a new synthetic culture came into being. The serpent-gods of the conquered were accepted by the conquerors and thus survived besides the stories of their defeat by the gods of the conquerors, who had in the meantime associated them with evil, darkness and all that is bad and made them monsters.¹

The explanation of these myths as being those of seasonal changes or monsoons etc. is not admissible in view of the existence of great differences in the climates of the countries in which the myths are found, *e. g.* India, Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece etc.

1 Another example of this may be the case of monkey-worship in North India. People, specially of the lower castes regard them as gods and worship them, At the same time regard them unholy and inauspicious and they would stop doing a thing if at the beginning they see a monkey.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE
DECCANI SULTANATES AND MIR JUMLA
WITH THE COURT OF IRAN

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

The Deccani Sultanates and Iran.

The relations between India and Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries constitute a subject of unique interest and importance in the history of Asia. The rise of the Safavis in Persia and of the Chaghtai Turks (the Mughals) in India was almost synchronous. In the beginning there was Perso-Turkish (Chaghtai)¹ *entente cordiale* against the Mongols and the Uzbeks. The military assistance of Ismail Safavi proved to be of great moral value to Babur as a silver lining to his cloud of misfortunes in Central Asia. After some time, however, the excessive dependence of Babur on Persia and his acceptance of its political suzerainty, coupled with his adoption of Persian fashions and customs in society and army, naturally rekindled the suppressed hostility of the Sunnite Mongols of Central Asia² and the consequent rebellion in Hissar (c 1512-14) led Babur to leave the arena of

¹ See Malcolm, *History of Persia*, I, 502-5 for relations with Ottoman Turks.

² Babur's Memoirs (King's edn.) II, 65-77 and notes; Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 242-3.

of his paternal inheritance and concentrate on Kabul (c1514). At another critical period of the Mughals in India, Persia, under Shah Tahmasp I, supported Humayun on certain conditions¹.

But with the development of the imperialistic second Mughal Empire under Akbar and the strong Safavi monarchy² under Shah Abbas I, the Great, in Persia, elements of Mughal-Persian friction appeared and the earlier relationship of amity and co-operation gradually changed into one of growing bitterness, rivalry and conflict. It is well-known that Qandahar proved to be the bone of contention between the two. Its international importance from strategic as well as commercial points of view led either of them to covet its possession. For the Mughal government in India particularly, it presented a local problem as well, owing to the existence of many independent and marauding tribes in the various regions of Afghanistan. But a study of some original Persian letters discloses an additional cause of Mughal-Persian rivalry, in the 17th century, *viz.*, the clashing ambitions of both for the exercise of suzerainty over the two Shia kingdoms³ of Bijapur and Golkonda in the Deccan beyond the Southern frontier of the Mughal Empire. Persia wanted to make a political use of its position as the centre of Shiaism⁴ in its relation with these

1 Sykes, *op. cit.* 248.

2 Malcolm I, Ch. 14.

3 Is it arguable to say that the seeming ingratitude of the Mughals was another factor?

4 Speaking of Shiaism, Malcolm observes, "No feeling could be more calculated to promote the greatness of Persia as an independent Kingdom: It was a flame which spread

Deccani Sultanates against the Mughals, while there was a corresponding attitude on their part to look up to Persia as a source of guidance and inspiration in times of difficulty and danger. Hence, for a rational and comprehensive explanation of the genesis of the Mughal-Persian rivalry we must look not only to the N.W. Frontier policy of the Mughals but also to their Deccan policy, as well as to Persia's relations with the Deccani Sultanates.

By the treaties of 1636, Bijapur and Golkonda accepted the political suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor, and so could not expand in the north. But during their conquests in the south they came to blows with each other and inspite of many mutual agreements, elements of friction between them continued¹ much to the advantage of the third party, *i. e.*, the Mughals. So long as Persia was engaged in recovering Qandahar from the Mughals, it could not turn its attention to the affairs of the Deccani Sultanates. The final loss of Qandahar by the Mughals in 1649 and the failure of their three attempts to regain it left Persia comparatively free to endeavour to wield political authority over the Deccani Sultanates, which had religious affinity with her, at the cost of the recently established Mughal suzerainty over them, as a reply to Mughal aggression in the N. W. The

to every bosom; and, as a powerful motive of action, was, while the fervour continued, perhaps fully equal in its force to that noble spirit of patriotism...." (1, 502). Bartold speaks of "militant Shiism as a political palladium." (Mussalman Culture, tr. by Suhrawardy.)

1 Cf my article on S. Some letters of Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla relating to the partition of the Karnatak, submitted to the Mysore session of I. H. R. C. (1942).

disputed succession at Delhi among the four sons of Shahjahan in the wake of his illness, having badly affected the integrity of the Mughal Empire, proved to be a golden opportunity for Persia to fish in the troubled waters of Delhi politics. Shah Abbas II incited the Deccani States against the Mughal Emperor ; sent an envoy, Mirza Muhammad Muqim, the state Librarian of Persia, to revive the friendship with them ; promised them substantial material assistance in men and money, and advised them separately to forget their recent rivalry (for occupation of the Hindu Karnatak) and co-operate for reaping the best possible advantage in that situation, and so paying the Mughals back in their own coin.

Judged in the light of this background, the efforts of Aurangzeb to crush the independence of these Deccani Saltanates gain a new political significance. Religious consideration was not the only guiding motive of annexation. He must have felt the political necessity of absorbing those states, which were following an anti-Mughal policy. Aurangzeb's treatment of those Sultanates may therefore be justified on the principle that no power, which aspired after sovereign authority over a country could brook the existence of States, within its territorial ambit, which looked beyond its frontiers to another power, definitely hostile to it. This view is supported by one of Aurangzeb's letters to Shahjahan, trying to induce the latter to sanction annexation of Golkonda (c. 1656) by referring, among other things, to Qutbulmulk's

fraternising with the Shah of Persia, and concluding "I hope your Majesty will order annexation."¹

The following letters have been culled from *Ruqaat-i Shah Abbas Sani*.² Its author, Mirza (Muhammad) Tahir Wahid (died c. 1120/1708-9) was a minister of Shah Abbas II. Besides being the author of the history of his master, Shah Abbas II (1066)³, he had many letters and prefaces, prose compositions and verses to his credit.⁴

1. *Draft of a letter written to the Sultan of Bijapur*⁵ (pp. 16-19).

When the affairs of Hindustan are in a turmoil⁶ you should take advantage of this just as your predecessors⁶ had done in similar circumstances. Endeavour to pay them (rulers of Hindustan) back in their own coin. For the sake of reviving the old⁷ friendship, about which you

1 *Adab-i-Alamgiri* (O. P. L. Ms.) 46b, 50b. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I. 211-212.

2 Sir J. N. Sarkar's Ms. Gist only given in the ff pages. (22) Reiu, I, 189. 1019.

3 *Ibid* II, 810, 843, 1019, 807, Br. Museum Pers. Add 7690 and 18, 879. *Ibid*, III, 1182.

4 This letter contains Shah Abbas II's gestures of help, both moral and material, to the Sultan of Bijapur against the Emperor of Hindustan.

5 Succession disputes in Hindustan due to Shahjahan's illness (Sept. 1657).

6 References to the resistance of the Sultans of Bijapur against the Mughals are given in Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I, 29-32.

7 All these letters continually harp upon this one theme viz, traditional friendship between the Deccani courts and Persia. The significance is explained in the introduction.

have written, I have deputed a messenger¹ to that side. I will lend many soldiers for necessary action in this disturbance. Keep me informed of your needs and wants.

2. *To Padshah² of Bijapur (93-100):*

After expressing our eternal friendship with you we write to you that it is known that the old Padshahs of the Deccan had, with an eye to religion, maintained cordial relations with our family, and always kept them strong; and the friendship between the two Sultans³ also was maintained. So great was the attachment between them that no enemy dared invade their territories.

One family⁴ struck off relations and the enemies, finding an opportunity began plundering the goods of Mussalmans and Shiah⁵s. The lord of the Deccan⁵ began to prevent them and revived the old connection with us. Myself, anxious to look after his good, sent Mirza Muhammad Muqim, state-librarian⁶, to that side, so that he might inform me of all events. Regret to hear of the death of the Sultan⁷, and asked the said Muqim

1 Mirza Muhammad Muqim, State librarian of Persia.

2 There is nothing unusual in this designation applied to the Sultan of Bijapur by Persia, which tries to incite him against the Delhi Emperor, who had addressed him as Shah in 1648, as distinct from Khan.

3 Here is a clear hint to a *triple entente*,—the *entente cordiale* of Bijapur and Golkonda being strengthened by the political amity and religious brotherhood with Iran.

4 The Text is not very clear here.

5 The Sultan of Golkonda.

6 *Kitabdar-i-Khassa Sharifa*.

7 Md. Adil Shah of Bijapur died on 4th November, 1656 and was succeeded by Ali Adil Shah II, to whom this letter is addressed. Shahjahan fell ill in September, 1657.

to offer condolences and alleviate the sorrow of the Padshah.

Now that the foundation of the illustrious house of the Gurgans has been rudely shaken by the flood of their actions to their great loss¹, you should, by keeping an eye to religion and honour of the *sultanat*, and according to the ways of your predecessors, co-operate with Golkonda, and by God's grace, the articles of co-operation² of my family are sufficient. Rest assured in this respect. If you combine, the enemies will stop their (hands). Besides strengthening the connection on both sides, you will count upon my friendship and assistance. Keep me informed of your wants, so that the *Karkuns* may act up to them. A letter has also been written to the Sultan of Golkonda.

3. To "*Wali*" of the Deccan³ (pp.19-23):

Received your letter, which has strung the chord of old friendship between us. Glad to know that you are well.

In these days when the props of the empire of Hindustan are shaking⁴, it is your duty to take revenge on those who struck at the position of the

1 Disputed Succession in Mughal Empire *z. s.* Murad's appeal to the Persian King for armed support: the latter's reply and despatch of an envoy to Murad before December, 1657. Sarkar *Aurangzeb*, I, 306-8.

2 *i. e.* help in men and money.

3 The term *Wali* of the Deccan, usually applied to Sultan of Bijapur, is here used to denote Qutbshah, as contents of this letter will show and as it appears from contents and heading of the letter on p. 89 (*vide* letter).

4 Disputed succession at Delhi.

Imams¹. Rest assured of my help as you would need, and I would not show any neglect in it.

A sign of the kind attention of the pure mind of the Shah (of Iran) on your country is that recently a letter had been written to the *wali* of Bijapur, so that he should, like his predecessors², try to quell the enemies. As you expressed a desire to continue the friendship of our forefathers, so I sent a messenger.³ The Shah is anxious to get good news from you, and so you should send him back immediately.

4. *Letter to Qutb Shah, Wali of the Deccan*⁴ (pp.89-93) ::

Received your letter. The Padshah has learnt of your condition and the violation of *Ahd* and undeserving actions committed by the Emperor of Hindustan.^{4a} You should have informed us at the very moment of the violation of agreement, and then have punished your enemies with our help. God will, however, punish them.

¹ To political motives one here added religious considerations.

² See letter No. 1.

³ Mirza Md. Muqim, State-librarian of Persia.

⁴ This letter is also found in *Guldashta* (Sarkar Ms.) with some variations. The text in *Rugzat* seems more correct than that in *Guldashta* (Tr. by Dr. K. K. Basu in J. B. O. R. S. Dec., 1940). This letter seems to be a reply to the letter of Abdullah Qutb Shah to Shah Abbas II, given in Tabrezi's *Golkonda Letters* (Sarkar Ms.) Both should be read together.

^{4a} Qutb Shah regards the support of Mir Jumla by the Mughals to be a violation of *Ahd* or treaties of 1636. See Tabrezi, op. cit.

Now that the foundations of the empire of the Gurgans have been rocked and the pegs of their sovereignty have been shaken by the flood of revolution and deterioration, you should, like your predecessors, combine and co-operate with Adil Shah, to whom letters of recommendation have been sent by us on every point, and avenge your past losses. In spite of the distance, separating us, you should consider our help always on your side, and march forward in realisation of your desires. Inform me of whatever you think necessary, so that I will continue to assist you in every respect as far as possible. In this time, to strengthen our friendship, Mirza Muhammad Muqim¹ is being sent to your side. He will know all your conditions and objects, and will inform me of your good news. You would send him back immediately.

5. *Letter to Mirza Muhammad Muqim, State Librarian, envoy to Hindustan*² (pp. 131—33) :

Since you left for Hindustan, you have not sent any information of any event or of the

¹ Text has *مقيم*. From *Ruqat-Shah Abbas Sani* (p. 131) it appears that he was *Kutub dari Khassa Sharifa* or State librarian of Iran. This letter is evidently written in beginning of 1658.

² On Murad's appeal to Shah Abbas II of Persia for assistance (in his bid for the Mughal throne), made according to Aurangzeb's suggestions, the King of Persia replied by referring to the massing of troops in Qandahar and Khorasan for necessary intervention in India, and to the despatch of a high officer as envoy, in order to learn the true state of affairs in Hindustan. This was before Murad's coronation at Ahmadabad in December, 1657. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb I*, 306—8. This letter shows that Mirza Muhammad Muqim was the Persian envoy not only to Bijapur and Golkanda but also to Murad.

Padshah¹. If you come back soon, it will be all right; otherwise, send full details of his condition. When you will leave, express to the Padshah my desire of 2 female elephants with drivers (eunuchs) and on their being delivered to you, bring them along with you. Communicate to me what was the aim of the Padshah.

¹ Does this mean Emperor Shahjahan or Murad who had crowned himself Emperor?



AUGUSTUS CLEVELAND

By K. K. BASU

Antiquarians and visitors come across two memorials at Bhagalpur one on the eastern extremity of the Sandy's Compound situated close to the civil station and the other at a distance of little over two miles on the west of it, placed in front of the Cleveland House—both of which were erected in revered memory of Augustus Cleveland, the late Collector of the district of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal. An administrator of ability, possessed with broad-minded sympathy and amazing perseverance, Cleveland was one of these attractive figures whose administration (29 Nov. 1779-30 Dec. 1783) marked an epoch in the district and provincial history of Bihar. During the early years of the Hon'ble East India Company's rule in Bengal he laboured for an establishment of peace and tranquillity in the country and thus brought glory to the English rule in India. He secured the reputation of having "accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajmahal who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions". A practical man of affairs with a gift of zeal

and tact, he accomplished his task by means of conciliation, confidence and benevolence. The uncivilized men of the forests and the hills "were inspired by him with a taste of the arts of civilized life and thereby attached to the British Government by a conquest over their minds, " a method that was not only permanent in its effect but rational and judicious in character. The introduction of an efficient police and the gradual effects of habits originating in the measures adopted by the wisdom and policy of Cleveland and pursued by his successors brought the district to a state of good order and security that was not exceeded in any other in the Company's provinces. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that the Committee of Revenue in its letter dated Fort William, the 6th of February 1784, under the signatures of Warren Hastings, Edward Wheler and John Stables to Charles Chapman, the Collector of Bhagalpur, gave its permission to the "erection of a monument that was to be erected in some conspicuous part of the city at a cost of 2,000 Sicca Rupees". The memorial in question contains a short specification of Cleveland's services that "were of so much importance to the peace of the country, the security of the adjacent lands, the credit of Englishman and the principles of humanity".

It was towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century, immediately after the inception of the Company's rule over Bengal, that the people of Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr faced a danger that was great and threatening. They suffered under the weight of attack from the hill people who

by their constant depredations reduced the life of the country to a chaotic and helpless state. In fact, the hill men sometimes carried off the dawk¹ and several head of cattle², made incursions into the district plundering the people, driving the inhabitants away and taking possession of the villages³. In course of a few weeks about 44 villages in the *tuppahs*^{3a} of Pooranadaise, Nyadaise, Shahabad and Rusulpore in pargana Bhagalpur and also in the *tuppahs* Havelly, Arar and Ajinubbey in pargana Colgong were plundered and a few of them burnt.⁴ It was not a case of the country labouring "under distress from the pilfering of dacoits, but from open powerful violence". The husbandman was in continued alarm: without the means of husbandry they left the lands uncultivated. No sooner was the alarm given of the advent of the hill people than all who were able to move took to flight. The parties under the direction of the Zamindars, or the posts and patrols, *chowkeys* and *burkandazes* placed to protect the people could not hold up the onslaught of the hillmen, or trace the mountaineers in their advance or retreat. There was a prodigal expenditure of life and

1 Revenue Letter sent dated 24th March 1775 from A. Cleveland to W. Hastings.

2 Revenue Letter sent dated 13th March 1777 from A. Cleveland to James Browne, Commanding the Light Infantry.

3 Revenue Letter sent dated 22nd Sept. 1777 from Cleveland to J. Browne.

3(a) A revenue division.

4 Revenue Letter sent dated 16th and 20th Dec. 1777 and 29th Jan. and 30th Apr. 1778.

materials as a result of the advance made by the dastardly foresters,

The subjugation of the hillchiefs and their subjection became an all assuming thought with Cleveland. He faced a new and a most serious test and had thoroughly understood the vital issues that were at stake. He regarded complacency a crime and envisaged a healthy and robust political life. Forces were rushed up to bring solace to the aching hearts and to secure the inhabitants in their property. *Chowkies* or guards were properly maintained at Subbalpur, Chunseah, Runganny, Beldeah and other places for the defence of the country. Jaghirdars and Ghatwals were subjected to the collector's authority and made responsible to him for the losses sustained from the incursions of the mountaineers made through the jagir lands.¹

Cleveland's endeavour to regulate the hill chowkey bundy and the means he used to bring down the hill chiefs succeeded beyond his own expectations.² The ghat and chowkeys of the northern range of hills extending from Sacrigully to Shahabad were entirely completed.³ The western range from Shahabad to within 2 coss of Jamuee was also settled.⁴ The eastern range from Sacrigully to Mohobutpur close upon the boundary of Ammar was also adjusted.⁵ The whole range of

¹ Rev. Letter sent dated 30th April. 1778 from Cleveland to Warren Hastings.

² Judicial Letter sent dated the 13th Jan. 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

hills was put under one authority and the same system of governing them adopted throughout. In course of time, the policy of considering the hillmen as enemies and treating them likewise was abandoned. In agreement with principles of justice and humanity a state of warfare was avoided. The measures taken were able to produce the desired object and lent new colour to the situation. Some of the hillman made their voluntary submission and took an oath of allegiance to Government. It was believed that there was hardly any chief in that vast extent of country who did not renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life for the ease and comfort he would enjoy it being obedient to and under the protection of a mild and regular Government.¹

The whole episode of Cleveland's relations with the people of the hills offers an instructive comment on his tact and farsightedness. Cleveland occasionally left his headquarters and made a tour through the hills and a part of the jungleterry to have an interview with as many of the hill chiefs and their dependants as possible and to give them feasts and presents on the part of Government.² It is interesting to learn, that the expenses incurred for feasting and making presents to the hill people in one particular year amounted to Rs. 1610.³

¹ *Ibid.*

² Rev. and Judicial Letters sent dated Bhagalpur the 25th Feb. 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

³ Rev Letters sent dated Rajmahal, 22nd Apr. 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

Further, with a view to securing to the hill chiefs means of subsistence the want of which had frequently obliged them to commit improper and inhuman acts, measures were adopted to employing a number of them in the services of Government. Cleveland made the following recommendations to the Governor General and Council in this connection.¹

1. Each Hill chief (or *mangey*) shall furnish one or more men to be incorporated into a corps of archers.

2. A chief shall be appointed to every 50 men and shall be accountable to the good behaviour of their respective division in the corps.

3. The corps shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Bhagalpur and to be employed in his district only.

4. It shall be the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and ghatwals to terms, or to expel them from their country and to treat them as enemies whenever they may be found.

5. Each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allowance of Rs. 5 per month and the common people Rs. 3, and effectually to secure the chief of several hills in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps shall receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 2 subject to such restrictions as may be thought necessary in case of misbehaviour.

¹ Judicial Letter sent, 21st Apr, 1780.

6. That each man in the corps shall annually have 2 turbans, 2 belts, 2 shirts, 2 pairs of shorts and a purple jacket.

The total annual expense that was expected to be incurred in giving effect to the above proposal was Rs. 29,440. Lest the Government might not give the proposal a due consideration and throw it overboard, Cleveland emphasised upon the need and urgency of the measure stating that it would administer comfort to a race of people hitherto little better than savages and would in course of time turn them into useful members of the community.

The Board, however, considered the expense of carrying Cleveland's plan into execution too great and directed the latter to let it know another method, that was cheapset as well as best, of carrying the plan regarding establishment of regulations for the inhabitants of the hills.¹ In reply, Cleveland submitted to its determination two alternative proposals, viz., of giving handsome allowances to the chiefs and their deputies and none at all to the inferior *mangeys* or of giving a trifling pension to the whole indiscriminately.² As the chiefs numbered 26 and their deputies 58 and the proposed allowance to both was rated at Rs. 10 and 5 respectively per month the total expense of the first proposal was estimated at Rs. 550. In the second alternative, the payment of Rs. 3 per-month to all

¹ Letter dated 23rd June 1780 from Board of Revenue to Cleveland.

² Revenue Letter sent dated 1st July 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

the 400 *mangeys* amounted to a total expenditure of Rs. 1,200 and made a considerable difference of the expence. It was on the ground of expense and other accounts that Cleveland recommended the adoption of the first alternative and suggested that when the chiefs were once heartily attached to Government the inferior *mangeys* would not presume to do anything which might endanger the forfeiture of their chief's stipend.¹

At length, the Board gave its approbation to the proposal of giving allowances to all the hill chiefs and their deputies leaving it to the district officer to carry his plan into execution in the best manner he was able and limiting the expense to Rs. 550 per month. The plan being thus determined upon, all the chiefs and deputies were summoned and informed by Cleveland that in consequence of the disposition they had shown and confidence which they had placed in the Government the latter had been pleased to grant pensions to the chiefs and deputies as an encouragement to their future good behaviour; that in consideration of this indulgence they were to bind themselves, under pain of severest penalties and a suspension of their allowances to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts.²

To this the chiefs and deputies of the northern parts of the Jungleterry readily assented: but those to the southward whose hills lay contiguous

¹ Revenue Letter sent dated 1st July 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

² Revenue Letter sent 19th Sept. 1780, from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

to the pergunas of Ammar and Sultanabad refused to accept allowances on the proposed terms. Their argument was that they could not be held responsible for the conduct of their neighbours (the people of Sultanabad and Ammar) who had so often given proofs of their refractory dispositions. Their explanations, in the opinion of Cleveland, were not unsatisfactory. In all likelihood, the hill people of the south, especially of Ammar and Sultanabad, would plunder and destroy the villages with redoubled fury and compel the other chiefs to resume their allegiance. For the tranquillity of the Jungleterry it was therefore considered necessary that the two aforesaid pergunas viz., Ammar and Sultanabad as well as Belputta (in Birbhum) should be annexed to the collectorship of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal.¹

Another plan which Cleveland had in mind and which had the full approval of Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B., when the latter was on his way both up and down the country was that of raising a corps of archers. The plan when adopted brought the hill inhabitants to a speedy state of civilisation and cause them to render a great service in the military operations at a future period.²

Information is available from the letter of Cleveland dated the 31st March 1781 to David

1 Revenue Letter sent 13th Feb. 1781 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

2 Letter sent 21st Apr. 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

3 Letter sent 19th Sept. 1780 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

Anderson, President, Committee of Revenue Fort William, that a sum of Rs. 40,000 was spent towards making arrangements for the 'better regulation of the inhabitants of the hills. As this amount made a decrease in the total of the Jumma of the district of Bhagalpur, it was liquidated in the settlement of land made at a future date. By means of proper and judicious management and several transactions and negotiations made with them, the inhabitants of the hills, who were never in subjection to the Mughal Government, were turned during the Company's rule into peaceable inhabitants and useful members of the society. It owed so great to the conscious planning of a statesman like Cleveland that the people who had been so long considered and treated like savages and whose names were a perpetual dread to the inhabitants of the low country, quitted their former modes of life and became civilised. Distribution of a great deal of wasteland which the district abounded to those hill people who were inclined to attend to the cultivation of it free of all rent and taxes whatever for a certain number of years, encouragement of manufactures of different kinds by offering rewards to those who were disposed to learn them produced the desired object and cut new roads of progress². The jangleterry was converted into a *colonie depoplement* with a busy life throbbing on over the country. The corps of hill archers formed originally as an experiment to afford the mountaineers an opportunity of entering into the Company's ser-

² Rev. Letter sent, dated 31st Oct. 1781, from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

vice answered well and proved to be of great use. Considerations such as smallness of pay offered to the members of the Hill corps and additional hills put under the authority of the Magistrate of Bhagalpur necessitated an entertainment of greater number of men and remodelling of the corps entailing an expense that exceeded the old one by Rs. 1,526 per month.¹

The manifold measures of Cleveland for the reclamation of the hillmen were by no means exhausted. What added glory to his statesmanship was the adoption of the practice of trying the delinquents by the officers of the corps of Hill Archers in the manner of court martial instead of their being sent to the Fauzdary court.² This method not only had the desired effect in inflicting proper punishment on the refractory but gave universal satisfaction to the chiefs and inhabitants of the hills in general.³ In fact, three or more officers attached to the corps assembled at the civil station twice a year for the purpose of trying all prisoners and as particular cases occurred which might require immediate enquiry they attended whenever the district officer found it necessary to summon them.⁴ In all cases the trials were conducted with as much ceremony and formality as the nature and disposition of the people would admit of, the chiefs appearing

¹ *Ibid.*

² Rev. Letter sent dated 3rd Apr. 1782 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Judicial Letter sent, dated Bhagalpur, the 19th Aug. 1782, from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

to conduct themselves throughout the trial with greatest attention and impartiality.¹ The powers of appointing and dissolving the court-martial remained with the district officer.² The approval of the sentences of the court-martial likewise rested with him except when the prisoner's life was at stake in which case the officer was authorised to assemble five or more hill chiefs whose opinion on the crimes and sentence in question were severally taken and he was guided entirely by a majority of the opinions given by the hill-chiefs to carry the sentence into execution.³ The intervention of the district officer was deemed necessary for the purpose of maintaining the appearance of an absolutely and uncontrolled authority over the inhabitants of the hills until they became more civilised and better acquainted with the nature of the Hon'ble Company's Government.⁴

In course of time, the inhabitants of the hills were made to turn their thoughts to agriculture and different kinds of manufacture to both of which they were entire strangers in the mountains.⁵ Means were adopted to induce them to settle in the low country and intermix more generally with the inhabitants on the plains that tended much to their civilisation and rendered them useful subjects to

1 *Ibid.*

2 Rev. Letter sent dated 3rd Apr. 1782 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 Judicial Letter sent dated 29th Aug. 1783 from Cleveland to W. Hastings.

the state.¹ There was a large tract of country lying along the foot of the hills the greatest part of which was uncultivated and paid little or no revenue to Government. The giving of such lands in long leases to the inhabitants of the hills became an inducement to many of them to leave their own country that never afforded any revenue to Government and became the means of increasing the revenue of the low country at a future date. Every chief inclined to settle in the low country had a jagir granted to him and his heirs for ever according to the rank or influence he had in the hills from one to three hundred bighas of land free of all rents or taxes.² Any of the inhabitants of the hills not of the rank abovementioned inclined to cultivate lands in the low country received pottahs granted to them for any quantity free of rents or taxes for ten years after which period the land so cultivated paid revenue accordingly.³

To complete the civilisation of the inhabitants of the hills and to render them good and useful subjects they were encouraged to quit residence in the mountains. Those chiefs who conformed to this plan received pensions from Government during their own natural lives and that of their heirs and successors. On the other hand, those who did not quit their present habitations and settled in the low-country within

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

twelve months after their plan made known to them, forfeited from that period the pensions they originally enjoyed.¹

The Government also spent Rs. 1,350 per mensem towards grant of pensions to the hill-chiefs and the amount thus disbursed was considered insignificant in view by affording a settlement of about one lac of useful inhabitants in the very heart of the Hon'ble Company's possessions in Bengal.

1 *Ibid.*



Reviews and Notices of Books

SĀMAVEDASAMHITĀ. Edited *by* Prof.
C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)
Published by the Adzar Library, Madras,
1913, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$, pages XIV+414.

This edition of Sāmaveda contains two commentaries, one by Mādhava and the other by Bharatasvāmin, published in print for the first time. Their importance lies in the fact that they are earlier than that of Sāyaṇa, Mādhava, according to the editor, flourished at about 600 A. D. and Bharatasvāmin at about 1300 A. D.

The volume under review contains only the Pūrvārcika portion which has been commented upon by both Mādhava and Bharatasvāmin. Regarding the Uttarārcika, Mādhava does not comment on it, whereas Bharatasvāmin does only partially. The language of the commentaries is simple ; and as a rule Mādhava's expositions are clearer and more elaborate than Bharatasvāmin's. As is the case with Sāyaṇa, these commentators intersperse grammatical notes with their exegetical explanations.

The variation in readings of different MSS. have not been given in the present work and the editor proposes to give them in a separate volume. The printed texts suffer from occasional misprints and a carefully prepared 'corrigenda' would be helpful.

D. B. S.

A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI, Vol. II. By
Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S.
Krishnasvami Aiyangar. Published by Sri
C. Sambaiya Pantulu, B. A., Commissioner,
Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam on behalf
of Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Com-
mittee, Madras, 1941.

This particular volume, written by the renowned scholar, Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, and belonging to the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute Series, is a notable and welcome contribution to South Indian history. The period covered here ranges from the middle of the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century. The book describes, in detail, and on the authority of inscriptions, the degree of royal patronage, extended by the kings of successive Hindu dynasties in Vijaynagar, like Narasimha Saluva, Vira Narasimharaja, Krishna Deva Raja, Achyuta, Sadasiva and others, to the famous Tirupati Temple. Their noble example was followed by officials and private individuals, who also made grants to it. The author has clearly brought out the dominating influence exercised by the Temple in the political and cultural life of S. India, and showed how in spite of political and dynastic changes, measures of public utility

were adopted and public works constructed. He has also discussed the controversial question of the character of the Temple and the shrine, and after a critical examination of various sources, come to the conclusion that they were of Vaiṣṇava and not Śaiva character. (Chs. 5, 16.) Moreover he has collected many details about the career and activities of Vaiṣṇava Āchāryas (Chs. 1, 6,) and the Madhva Āchārya Vyāsarāya-svāmī (Ch. 7), organisation of worship in Tirupati in relation to Government control (Ch. 15). As such, the book will prove to be of invaluable help to scholars interested in the religious and social history of South India.

The value of the book is augmented by the fact that it is not merely a temple history, but it is at the same time an instructive regional history of a district that passed under different masters. Among interesting political details, mention may be made of the efforts of Saluva Narasimha, ruler of Chandragiri-rajya, independently of the Vijayanagar Emperor, to counteract the activities of the Muhammadan Sultans and the extension of the influence of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. As regards the abortive Portugese invasion of 1543 (Ch. XI), the learned author holds that it was directed against Tirupati, and not against Conjeeveram, as held by White-way. This incident belongs to the period of proselytising activity of Francis Xavier in Tinnevely, and the great southern invasion of Ramraja Vittala of Vijaynagar not only checked the Portugese missionary enterprise but also

dispelled the fear of ultimate annexation of Tinnevely to Portugal. The penetration of the Carnatic by the Muhammadans in the 17th century and the part played by Mysore in resisting it have been well delineated (Chs. 13, 14, 17, 18).

Another interesting feature of the work is the reference to administrative organisation and economic conditions of Tirupati and the Carnatic. (Chs. 19, 20, and pp. 541 ff.) Two maps and 18 illustrations, and an Index add to the value of the book.

Some printing mistakes occur in p. 146 (Kishna for Kṛishṇa), p. 496 (Ginee for Gingee) and p. 299 (dates). The paragraphs are unusually long, particularly in Ch. I. One point of difference of opinion with the learned author arises on p. 469. He holds that the term *Kāṅkāṇa sāḥabulvāru* of the Nandiyāla temple inscription refers to Mir Jumla; for, "this region is actually much beyond the limit of Bijapur and directly in the sphere of Golkonda...." The present reviewer humbly points out that he has shown, from a study of Mir Jumla's letters, found in Abdul Ali Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters, (I. H. R. C. Mysore, 1942), that Nandiyal and its neighbouring regions were actually under the possession of Bijapur, and formed disputed areas as between Bijapur and Golkonda, so that there would be no difficulty in equating *kāṅkāṇa* with Muzaffaruddin Khan Muhammad Khān-i-khānān.

J. N. S.

Notes of the Quarter

A meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the Society's Office on Sunday, the 8th March, 1942 at 10-30 a.m.

*Present:—*The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt. (in the Chair).
Dr. S. C. Sarkar.
Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on Sunday the 21st December, 1941.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of December, 1941 and January, 1942.

3. Passed payments of the following bills:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (a) Messrs. Chuckervarty Chatterji and Co's. Bill for supply of books, Bill No. 4343, dated 16-10-41 .. | Rs. a. p.
162 0 0 |
| (b) Messrs. Chuckervarty Chatterji and Co's Bills. No. 4452 and 4454 .. | 104 14 0 |
| (c) Patna Law Press Bill No. 290/41, dated 31-2-1941, printing charges of Journal, September Issue, 1941 .. | 511 13 0 |

(d)	Statesman's Bill No. 2587	Rs.	a.	p.
	for making blocks	..	16	14 0
(e)	Purchase of Mahābhārata			
	MS. Śalya-Parvan	..	40	0 0
(f)	Calcutta Sanskrit Book Depot			
	Bill No. 85 dated 14-1-42 for			
	supply of books	..	57	0 0
(g)	Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala's			
	Bill for supply of books	..	14	15 0
(h)	Bombay Natural History			
	Society Bill	..	11	8 0
(i)	Indian Photo Engraving Co's			
	Bill No. B. P. 32 CR, dated			
	26-1-42 for making a block			
	for December issue	..	35	2 0
(j)	Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das's			
	Bills Nos. 476 and 484 for			
	supply of books	..	68	0 0

4. Considered final arrangements for the Annual General Meeting to be held on Tuesday, March 24, at which his Excellency the Governor had kindly consented to preside.

5. Read Mr. N. K. Ghoshal's letters, dated the 11th and 20th February, 1942 in connection with the preparation of a consolidated Index to the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Resolved that his offer be accepted if the Index be prepared properly.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Tuesday, the 24th March, 1942 at 7-15 p. m.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Tuesday the 24th March, 1942, at 7-15 p. m.

The following formal business was transacted:-

1. The President declared the meeting open.

2. On a motion by Mr. P. C. Manuk the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1942-43 :-

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil.

Treasurer—Sham Bahadur, Esq., M. B. E., Barrister-at-Law.

Librarian—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who are ex-officio members.)

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma,
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Balaji
Dhavle, I. C. S.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.
R. E. Russell, Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.
Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L.
Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. Litt.
Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil.
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Md. Ismail.

3. The Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts which were adopted.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited P. C. Manuk, Esq., to address the meeting.

6. A lecture was delivered by P. C. Manuk, Esq., on "Indian Painting" illustrated with lantern slides.

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,
Honorary General Secretary.

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Annual Report for 1941-42.

I.—MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1941 was 115. The Society lost four of its ordinary members (three by resignation and one by death) and seven subscribers. Eight new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary members and 15 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 141.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and Members of the Council:—

President:—His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S.,

Vice-President:—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary:—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Treasurer:—Sham Bahadur, Esq., M. B. E.

Librarian:—Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala, M. A.

Editorial-Board:—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri,
M. B. E., M. A., D. Phil.
(Oxon.)

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankara Balaji
Dhavle, I. C. S.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.

R. E. Russell Esq., C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D. Litt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil.

II.—MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 7th March, 1941 in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of the formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "the wall-paintings of Ajanta" delivered by Mr. G. Yazdani, O. B. E., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 20th April, 3rd August, 22nd September, and 21st December, 1941.

III.—JOURNAL.

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXVII of the Society's Journal containing 595 pages, and 2 plates have been published.

The first plate was a reproduction of a sculpture in the Lucknow Museum and the other of a Bronze Buddha from Mandalay now in the Patna Museum.

IV.—LIBRARY.

During the year 175 books (222 volumes) and 156 Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 22 were presented, 150 were purchased and three were received in exchange and of the Journals, 24 were presented, 1 was purchased and 131 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1941 the Library contained 8863 volumes as compared with 8641 volumes of the previous year.

V.—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

Throughout the year from January, 1941, to December, 1941 the editor with the help of the Mithila Pandit was engaged in preparing the press copy of the remaining five volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts. The volumes are.—I. Epics and the Purāṇas. II. Vyākaraṇa. III. Philosophy (Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mimāṃsā and Vedānta). IV. Tantra. V. Miscellaneous (Kōśa, Vaidyaka, Kāmasāstra, Saṅgīta, Nīti, Maithilī and Hindī).

Supplementary volumes.—I. Smṛti, II. Literature, III. Jyotiṣ, IV. Veda.

A manuscript copy of the Mahābhārata—Śalya-parvaḥ in Mithilā Script was purchased for the Society's Library.

A. BANERJĠ-SASTRI,

24th February, 1942.

Honorary General Secretary.



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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Statement of Accounts from 1st April,
1941 to 28th February, 1942.*

A. The actuals for 1940-41 showed a closing balance of Rs 98-5-9 with the amount in Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 3,764-6-10 as the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 3,862-12-7 at the end of 1940-41.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 28th February 1942 the current account closing balance was Rs. 369-10-4. To this must be added the amount in the Public account, *viz.*, Rs. 4,9086-4 which gives a total of Rs. 5,278-0-8.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on the amount in the Public account. The subscriptions realised up to the 28th February, 1942 amounted to Rs. 1,101-10-0 up to the 28th February, 1941 the realised amount was Rs. 703-0-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 900.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 218-10-0 up to the end of February 1942. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 149.

S. BAHADUR.

11th March, 1942.

Honorary Treasurer.

ACTUALS UP TO FEBRUARY 28, 1942.

INCOME.

	<i>Actuals.</i>			<i>Revised Budget.</i>		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Subscription	..	1,101	10 0	900	0 0	
Sale of Journal	..	187	14 0	150	0 0	
Miscellaneous	..	4	3 0	..		
Postage Recovered	..	8	15 0	..		
Sale of Buchanan's Reports	..	22	0 0	..		
Sale of Cat. of Mithila Mss	..	8	12 0	..		
Government Grant	..	5,133	0 0	5,133	0 0	
Interest on P/A	..	143	15 6	70	3 4	
Opening Balance—						
Hathwa Fund	..	151	0 6	151	0 6	
Darbhangha Fund	..	271	2 3	271	2 3	
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	210	14 9½	210	14 9½	
Tibetan Expedition	..	503	9 9	503	9 9	
General Balance	..	2,726	1 3½	2,726	1 3½	
GRAND TOTAL	..	10,473	2 1	10,115	15 11	

S. BAHADUR,

11th March, 1942.

Honorary Treasurer.

ACTUALS UP TO FEBRUARY 28, 1942.

EXPENDITURE.

		<i>Actuals.</i>			<i>Revised Budget.</i>		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	..	1,250	4	5	1,256	0	0
Mithila Pandit	..	1,218	1	0	1,608	0	0
Printing Charges	..	1,700	14	3	2,000	0	0
Postage	..	230	2	0	400	0	0
Stationery	..	35	11	0	90	0	0
Library	..	682	11	0	1,000	0	0
Electrical Charges	..	70	9	9	100	0	0
Miscellaneous	..	74	4	0	350	0	0
Furniture	..	32	8	0	..		
Tibetan Expedition	..	..			503	9	9
<hr/>							
TOTAL	..	5,195	1	5	7,307	9	9
CLOSING BALANCE	..	5,278	0	8	2,808	6	2
<hr/>							
GRAND TOTAL	..	10,473	2	1	10,115	15	11
<hr/>							

Details of Closing Balance on 28th February, 1942:—

		TOTAL.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Hathwa Fund	..	..	..	173 0 6
Darbhanga Fund	..	..	..	279 14 3
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	..	210 14 9½
General Balance	..	..	..	4,110 9 4½
Tibetan Expedition	..	..	..	503 9 9
<hr/>				
TOTAL	..	5,278	0	8
<hr/>				

S. BAHADUR,

11th March 1942.

Honorary Treasurer.

APPENDIX

Judgments in the Courts of Mithila in the XVIII Century*

WOMEN'S RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE, MAINTENANCE AND ADOPTION

ON PARTITION AND SALE

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

(१) मोहनमिश्रस्य द्वे स्त्रियौ तत्र एकस्यां जीवमिश्रः
अपरस्यां देवनाथभवनाथौ । तत्र त्रयाणां पुत्राणामेवांशद्वारकत्वं न
तु स्त्रियोः । पितृर्ध्वङ्गते पुत्रा विभजेयुः पितुर्धनमिति नारद-
वचनात् । पितरि जीवति पुत्राणामेव भागग्राहकत्वं । विभागं चेत्पिता
कुर्यात्तवेच्छया विभजेत्सुतानिति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात् । तत्र जीव-
मिश्रस्य अतिवृद्धप्रपौत्रः कुलपतिमिश्र इदानीं तिष्ठति । भवनाथ-
मिश्रस्य वृद्धप्रपौत्रः खूसिहालः । देवनाथमिश्रस्य प्रपौत्रो रवीमिश्रो
मृतः । अधुना तत्पत्नी निग्नतिसुता तिष्ठति । तत्र कुलपतिखूसिहालौ
रवीमिश्रभागग्रहणार्थं वादं कुर्वन्तौ न भागग्राहकौ भवतः । किन्तु
न्यायाद्यावज्जीवं तत्पत्न्येव स्वपतिभागग्राहिका भवति । मृतायां
तस्यां यदि कृत्रिमपुत्रो न भवेत्तर्हि दायादास्सर्वे भागग्राहकाः स्युः ।
यदि स्यात्कृत्रिमपुत्रस्तदा स एव भागग्राहको न दायादा इति
सिद्धान्तः । अत्र वचनानि सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृभ्रातृसना-
भिभिः असुतस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणी इति वृद्धस्वतिवचनात्
अपुत्रा च व्रतं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता । सुखीता मरणात्क्षान्ता
दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुरिति मनुवचनाच्च । अत्र वचने अपुत्रा
इत्यस्य द्वादशप्रकारकपुत्राभाववतीत्यर्थः । द्वादशपुत्रमध्ये कृत्रिम-

* Brought to light by Pandit Vishnu Lal Shastri in the
course of his search for Sanskrit Mss. in Mithila.

पुत्रस्यापि सत्वे तस्यैव भागप्राप्तत्वं न दायादानां पियडदोश-
हरश्चैषां पूर्वाभावे परः इति विष्णुवचनादिति वदति श्रीशङ्करदत्त-
शर्मा इति ॥

(२) सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ मूलधनिन्युपरते पश्चात्तत्पत्न्यां चोपरतायां
सपियडोपान्तपर्यन्तमूलधनिस्थावराधितनाधिकारिविरहे सति सपियडे
पतिद्वारा स्त्रीसंक्रान्तस्थावराद्यखिलधनं सपियडएव लब्धुमर्हति न तु
स्त्रिया असपियडः कृत्रिमः पुत्रः । स य तस्याः पतिकुलदत्त-
स्थावरेतरसौदायिकधनमात्रमित्येव शास्त्रसिद्धमिति विज्ञान मौढ्येन
केनचित्स्त्रियाः कृत्रिमपुत्रस्यैवेदं न ममेति मनस्यवधार्य बहिर्ममैवेदम-
खिलधनमिति प्रकाशितमित्युभयोः कलहे सम्भाव्यमाने तादृशस-
पियडेन तदीयमिदं तस्मै दीयते इति बुध्या तस्मै दत्तमर्द्धमर्द्धस्तद्धानेन
स्वयं गृहीतमित्युभौ कृतसामञ्जस्यौ बभूवतुः । पश्चाद्विवदमानस्ता
दृशसपियडः शास्त्रसिद्धमूलधनिस्थावराद्यखिलधनाधिकारी मौढ्येन
स्वयन्दत्तमर्द्धं शास्त्रसिद्धमदत्तमतः पुनरादातुमर्हत्येव ॥

अदत्तं तु भयक्रोधलोभमोहरुगन्वितैः । तथोक्तोचापरी-
हासव्यत्यासच्छ्रलयोगतः ।

बालभूडास्वतन्त्रस्त्रीमत्तोन्मत्तापवर्जितैः । कर्ता ममायं कर्मेति
प्रतिलाभेच्छया च यत् ॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायवाचस्पतिमिश्रकृतविवादचिन्तामणिमिसरू
मिश्रकृतविवादचन्द्रहरिनाथोपाध्यायकृतस्मृतिसारवृत्तनारदवचनत्ताथा
वगमादिति सभ्यानभ्यावेदयति श्रीवेचनशर्मा ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

सम्मतिरत्र दुलारस्य । सम्मतिरत्र श्रीवृन्दावनचन्द्रस्य ।

सम्मतिरत्र ववुनन्दनस्य । सम्मतिरत्र श्रीनारायणदत्तस्य ।

सम्मतिरत्र हृदयनाथस्य ॥

(३) कश्चित्कस्याश्चिदकृत्रिमपुत्रः तस्याः कृत्रिमपुत्रोद्-
मिति लोके ख्यातिं कारयित्वा पतिद्वारा स्त्रीसंक्रान्तस्थावराद्यखिल-

धनाधिकारिसपिण्डाच्छलेन व्यत्यासेन च स्वप्राप्तिसाधकं तदीया-
खिलधनार्द्धदानपत्रं कारितवान् । सपिण्डोपि कृतवांश्च । तत्र
छलमूलकत्वेन व्यत्यासमूलकत्वेन च तन्निवर्त्यमेव । योगाधमन-
विक्रीतं योगदानप्रतिग्रहं । यत्र वाऽप्युपधिं पश्येत्तत्कार्यं विनिवर्त्तयेत् ।
अदत्तं तु भयक्रोधलोभमोहरुगन्वितैः । तथोक्तोचापरीहासव्यत्या-
सच्छलयोगतः ॥ बालमृदास्वतन्त्रस्त्रीमत्तोन्मत्तापवर्जितैः । कर्त्ता
ममायं कर्मेति प्रतिलाभेच्छया च यदिति महामहोपाध्यायवाचस्पति-
मिश्रकृतव्यवहारचिन्तामणिमिसरुमिश्रकृतविवादचन्द्रहरिनाथोपाध्या-
यकृतस्मृतिसारधृतमनुनारदवचनाभ्यां तथावग मादिति विज्ञान्
विज्ञापयतः श्रीवेचनशर्मणो मनोविनोदकरः पन्थाः ॥

सम्मतिरत्र वृन्दावनचन्द्रस्य ॥ सम्मतिरत्र नारायणदत्तस्य ॥
सम्मतिरत्र हृदयनाथस्य ॥ सम्मतिरत्र श्रीरघुनन्दनशर्मणः ॥
सम्मतिरत्र तुलारस्य ॥ सम्मतिरत्र ववनूशर्मणः ॥ *

(४) अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिभावापन्नौ मधुसूदनशर्मदाहूशर्माणौ विव-
दन्तौ मत्सदस्समासदताम् । मट्टीजिपुरुषपत्नीद्वयजातपुत्रत्रय-
बीजिपुरुषदत्तसमांशभागभोगिनः पुत्रपौत्रप्रभृतयः षट् पुरुषा
व्यतीता गतानामेकस्य भ्रातुस्तु पौत्रादेरभावादवशिष्टभ्रातृद्वयस्य
पौत्रादयः समभागाभवन्त्विति अर्थिनः श्रीमधुसूदनशर्मणो भाषायां
ततः प्रतिवादी दाहूशर्मा मट्टीजिपुरुषस्य सहोदरत्वेन भागभोगित्वं
न तु चैमात्रेयसन्ततीनाञ्च । अथोच्छन्नवंशसपिण्डभ्रातृवधूकृत्-
त्वेन मङ्गमर्पयत्यतो न दास्यामि इत्युत्तरं दत्तवान् । तत्र पुत्रः पौत्रः
प्रपौत्रो वेत्यार्थवचनात्पिण्डं दत्त्वा धनं हरेदित्यार्थवचनाच्चात्रदाहूशर्मण
एव भागभोगित्वम्भवितुमर्हतीत्यवगत्य जयिने श्री- दाहूशर्मणे
जयपत्रमदौददिति श्रीभोलादत्त शर्मा ॥

(५) बीजाशर्मशिवशर्मणोरविभक्तयोर्भ्रात्रोर्मध्ये निरपत्यएव
फनिष्ठे शिवशर्मणि मृते जीवन्निरपत्यकलत्रो बीजाशर्मैव

* Babanū Sarma flourished in Śaka 1717 (i. e. 1795 A. D.) in village Rasāḍha in Purnea district.

सकलधनस्वामी दातुं विक्रेतुं चाधिकार्यतः स्वपारलौकिकक्रिया-
करणोपकारेच्छया रसनेत्रगजचन्द्रसम्मिते सम्बत्यासन्न तर भ्रातरि
महेशशर्मणि स्वीयपारलौकिकक्रियाभारमासज्यवषतुशर्म हरिजन-
शर्मणौ मोसाहेबपुराधीशौ साक्षिणावापाशात्मीयं गोविन्दपुर-
मोसाहेबपुरयोर्ग्रामपौरोहित्यं विष्णुप्रीतिभूम्याम्रवाटिकादिसमग्रमचलं
धनं महेशशर्मणे दत्तवान् । महेशशर्मा च तद्दिनत एव समग्रं
तद्धनमात्मसात्कृत्वा कंचित्कालं व्यत्याय्य बीजाशर्मणि सृते
तदीयामौर्ध्वदैहिकीं क्रियां संपाद्य निर्वाधं तद्धनमद्याप्युपभुङ्क्ते ।
तत्रषड्विंशतिवर्षाणि व्यतीतानि इदानीमेतावति काले व्यतीते प्रासा-
च्छादनमात्रमाग्निनी शिवशर्मपत्नीदानीन्तनो यथाशास्त्रमयथा-
शास्त्रं वा तत्कृतः कृतपुत्रश्च जुडावनशर्मा बीजाशर्मदत्तं समग्रं
भूम्यादिस्थावरधनं ततः स्वांशं वा कथमपि प्रत्याहर्तुं न शक्नोति
भूम्यादिकमन्यस्मित् दायादे वा ददति जानन् पश्यन् वा तत्क्षणएव-
निषेद्धमलं नतु कालान्तरे चिरमन्योपभुङ्क्त इति ॥

भ्रातृणामप्रजाः प्रेयावः कश्चित्प्रव्रजेत वा ।

विभजेरन् धनं तस्य शेषास्ते स्त्रीधनं विना ॥

भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरन् स्त्रीणामाजीवितक्षयात् ।

रक्षन्ति शय्यां मर्तुश्चेदाच्छिद्यन्पुरितरासु चेति ॥

रिक्थिभिर्वा परैर्द्रव्यं समञ्चे यस्य दीयते ।

अन्यस्य भुक्तं तत्पश्चात् स तं लब्धुमर्हतीति ॥

पश्यन्नन्यस्य ददतः क्षितिं यो न निवारयेत् ।

स्वामी सतापि लेख्येन पुनस्तां न समाप्नुयात् ॥

पत्यमूल्यं भृतिस्तुष्ट्या स्नेहप्रत्युपकारतः ।

स्त्रीशुल्कानुग्रहात् वा दत्तं दानविदो विदुरिति ॥

पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रकारश्च । बन्धूनाहूय राजनि निवेश निवेशनस्य
मध्ये व्याहृतिभिर्दुत्वाऽदूरे बान्धवं सन्निकृष्टमेव गृहीयात् ।
शास्त्रोक्तरीतिं दिना ये पुत्रास्ते पुत्राभासत्वात् ऋक्थभाज इति नारद-

वशिष्टयाज्ञवल्क्यादिमुनिवचनस्वरसादिति वदति श्रीनेहालशर्मा
संवत् १८५२ आ० शु० ६ ॥

अमंस्तामुमर्थं श्रीकल्याणशर्मा । अत्रार्थे सम्मतिः श्री-
आखीशर्मणः । सम्मतोयमर्थः श्रीहरदत्तशर्मणः ॥

(6) पसुराग्रामवासी अर्था मनसामिश्रः मत्सप्तमपुरुषभग-
वन्मिश्रादारभ्य सयदपुरधनुकमर्दीपुरग्रामौ मम वृत्तिभूतौ । अद्या-
वभ्येकस्य मयजमानस्य कर्मकारजातीयस्य तत्र स्थितत्वात् षट्षट्-
यधिकं वार्षशतिकस्य तद् ग्रामविभाजनपत्रस्य मद्धस्ते स्थितत्वाच्च ।
परन्तु जयराममिश्रादारभ्य तद्ग्रामयोक्तेपुरुषी ममाभुक्तिः सप्तप्रति-
वादिनो देवीदत्तस्य रामदत्तमिश्रादारभ्य त्रिपुरुषी भुक्तिरिति वदति ।
प्रत्यर्था विष्णुपुरग्रामवासी देवीदत्तमिश्रस्तु वायुक्तौ ग्रामौ ममैव
वृत्तिभूतौ । मोहनमिश्रादारभ्याद्यावधिषट्पुरुषीकृतभोगत्वात् अद्या-
वधि तद्ग्रामविषयकवादस्य केनाप्यनुदृक्कनाच्च । एकः कर्मकारो
यजमानः प्रायश्चित्तीयत्वान्मत्पूर्वपुरुषैस्त्यक्तः अतस्तस्य यजमानति
वदति । तत्र वादिसम्मतत्रिपुरुषीभोगरूपप्रबलप्रमाणेन देवीदत्तस्य
५५ : ।

अन्यमानाद्वरः साक्षी साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं गुरु ।

अव्याहता त्रिपुरुषीभुक्तिरेभ्यो गरीयसी ॥ इति वचनात् ।

अन्वयेनापि यद्गुणं पित्रा पूर्वतरैस्त्रिभिः ।

न तच्छक्यमपाकर्तुं कमात्रिपुरुषागतमिति वचनात् ।

यत्किञ्चिदशवर्षाणि सन्निधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।

मुज्यमानं परैस्तूष्णीं न स तल्लब्धुमर्हतीति वचनात् ।

लेख्यं त्रिंशत्समातीतमट्टश्रावितञ्च यत् ।

न तत्सिद्धिमवाप्नोति तिष्ठत्स्वपि हि साक्षिषु ॥

इतिवचनेन वादिसम्बन्धिश्रामविभाजनपत्रस्याप्रमाणत्वा चेति
निगदति श्रीशङ्करदत्तशर्मेति ॥

(7) अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिभावापन्नौ विक्रमशर्मभैयारामशर्माणौ
मत्सदः सम्गतौ । वरैपुराग्रामान्तर्गतसगोपालपरवृत्तिरादितो

मदीया तां बलाङ्गैरारामशर्मा भुनक्ति मद्यं नार्पयतीत्यर्थिनो विक्रम-
 शर्मणो भाषायां ममाप्यादितो वृत्तिस्साऽतो भुज्यतेऽयं मिथ्या
 विवदतीति प्रत्यर्थिनो भैयारामशर्मणो भाषायां मम साक्षिणः
 सन्तीति विक्रमशर्मण उक्तौ ममापि साक्षिणः सन्तीति भैयाराम-
 शर्मण उक्तौ समबलकारणोत्तरे विमृष्य विचार आरब्धे साक्षिपू-
 भयतस्तत्सु साक्षिणः पूर्ववादिन इतिवचनात्प्रमाणायादिष्टोर्थी विक्रम-
 शर्मा । तत उभयानुमतौ साक्षिणौ भञ्जनशर्माबेचुलालदासावानीय
 स्वप्रतिज्ञां साधयिष्यामीति प्रतिज्ञायावधिमङ्गीकृत्य गतस्ततोवधितः
 कियद्दिनमतोत्य साक्षिणं भञ्जनशर्माणमानीतवाननन्तरं सभ्यैः
 पृष्टः स भवानस्मिन्नर्थे साक्षी चेत् साक्ष्यमुद्रया यज्जानासि तत्तत्स्थं
 वद । ततस्तेनोक्तमिदानीं साक्षित्वमुद्रया न वदिष्यामीति किय-
 द्दिनमवधिमङ्गीकृत्य गतस्ततः पुनरवधिमतीत्य साक्षित्वमुद्रया
 भञ्जनशर्माणं साक्षिणं निगादितवान् । भैयारामशर्मपितामहेन
 तत्पित्रा ते-पि भुक्तेति ज्ञायते कस्येयमिति न जानामीति । ततः
 पुनरपि साक्षिणा लेखेन भोगेन च स्वार्थं साधयेति भैयाराम
 शर्मण उक्तौ विक्रमशर्मा निजगाद मम कोपि नास्तीति भवानेव
 स्वार्थं साधयत्विति । ततः पुनर्वादे अधरीभूते भवत्युत्तरवादिन इति-
 वचनात्प्रमाणायादिष्टो भैयारामशर्मा । ततो भैयारामशर्मणा
 बहवस्साक्षिणः समुद्दिष्टास्तदनन्तरं सर्वे मम शत्रव इत्युवाच विक्रम-
 शर्मा । ततः सम्यैरुक्तं न हि सर्वेषां सर्वे शत्रव इति । ततः
 पुनरपि मम सर्वे शत्रव एवेत्युक्त्वा पलायितो विक्रमशर्मा । ततो
 मुहुराहूतोपि नागतः । आहूतप्रपलायीष मौनी साक्षिपराजितः ।
 स्ववाक्यप्रतिपन्नश्च हीनवादी चतुर्विध इति । साक्षिणस्तु समुद्दिश्य
 यमर्थं न निगादयेत् । त्रिंशद्दिनात्रिपक्षाद्वा हानिस्तस्योपजायते ॥
 राजद्वैकृतो दोषस्तस्मिन्काले यदा भवेत् । अवधित्यागमात्रेण
 न भवेत्स पराजितः ॥ यस्योचुः साक्षिणः सत्यां प्रतिज्ञां स जयी
 भवेत् । अन्यथावादिनो यस्य ध्रुवं तस्य पराजय इत्यादिवचन-
 स्वारस्याद्विक्रमशर्मणि पराजिते सत्यर्थवशादनुमानाद्वरं साक्षी
 साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं गुरु । अद्याहता त्रिपुरुषी मुक्तिरेभ्यो गरीयसी-

ति वचनाञ्जयिने श्रीभैरारामशर्मणो जयपत्रमदोदादिति सभ्यान् धर्मधुरन्धरानावेदयति आंखीशर्मा ॥ *

(8) अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिभावापन्नौ बान्धवशर्महरीशर्माणौ मत्सदः समागतौ । ततो भोराशर्मा मत्तो यध्रवःमृणत्वेन गृहीत्वा मृत-
स्तद्द्रव्यमविभक्तो भोराशमभ्राता हरीशर्मा मद्यमर्पयत्विति
बान्धवशर्मणोऽर्थिनो भावायां सत्यमृणं भोराशर्मणा त्वत्तो गृहीतं
परन्तु तत्पूर्वकालविभक्तोहं नार्पयामि तद्द्रव्यमिति प्रत्यर्थिनो हरी-
शर्मणो बलवत्कारणोत्तरे विमृष्य विचार आरब्धे प्रपद्य कारणं
पूर्वमन्यद्गुह्यतरं यदि । प्रतिवाक्यगतं ब्रूयात्साध्यते तद्धि नेतुमिति
कात्यायनवचनेन प्रमाणायादिष्टः प्रत्यर्थी हरीशर्मा पञ्चदशदिन-
मध्ये सद्विद्यञ्जपतिशर्मलिखितं ५ त्रेण विभागं द्रव्यप्रहणपूर्व-
कालिकं साधयिष्यामीति प्रतिज्ञाय ययौ । ततो मासानन्तरं
सूरिषु सभ्येषु छत्रपतेर्निवेदनं मङ्गनूशर्मभोराशर्महरीशर्मणां
परस्परं विभागे याते हचरू नामा दासो मङ्गनूशर्मणः पितृदत्तो
असाधारण इत्यविभाज्यो मङ्गनूशर्मण एवेत्यर्थकं पत्रमानीयात्म-
त्सदसि प्रादर्शयदथ नेदं छत्रपतिशर्मलिखितं पत्रमित्युक्तो
बान्धवशर्मणा हरीशर्मा तत्पुत्रादिनानाविधकोऽलपत्रग्रामनिवासि-
शिष्टजनलिखितं पत्रमानीय छत्रपतिशर्मलिखितं पत्रं प्रमाणी-
कृतवान् हरीशर्मा एतावतैव मया न मन्यते यदि सामाजिका-
स्ताक्षिणो वेत्तारः स्युस्तदा मन्यत इति बान्धवशर्मणोक्तो हरीशर्मा
शिष्टं ज्योतिर्विदं दुल्लहशर्माणं निधिशर्माणं च साक्षरमानीय
द्रव्यप्रहणपूर्वमेव मङ्गनूशर्मभोराशर्महरीशर्मणां साक्षिविधानेन
विभागकथकमानीतवान् । अन्यचात्रयनमेकं स्वांशभू तंमङ्गनूशर्मा
मयि विक्रीतवान् । तत्पत्रमपि विभागसाधकं द्रष्टव्यमित्यप्युक्तं
दुल्लहशर्मणा । बान्धवशर्मा स्वेच्छया प्रतिज्ञा याविभाग-
साधकसाक्षिण आनयिष्यामीति प्रतिज्ञाय गतोपि मासद्वय-

* Pandit Ākhī Sarmā was a resident of Harinagar in Madhubani Sub-Division in Darbhanga district and flourished in Sanyat 1852, i. e. 1795 A. D.

पर्यन्तं नागतइति भङ्गी बान्धवशर्मा । अतएव यस्योचुः साक्षिणः
सत्यां प्रतिज्ञां स जयी भवेत् । अन्यथावादिनो यस्य ध्रुवं तत्त्व
पराजय इति विष्णुवचनाच्च जयिने श्रीहरीशर्मणे जयपत्रम-
दोदादिति सम्यानभ्यावेदयति श्रीमचलशर्मा ॥

Character, Maithilī, white paper. Folio 1.
8×4 inches. Old. Date ? Place of deposit, Pandit
Manmohana Miśra, Barauni, P. O. Barauni
Deorhi, Monghyr. The judgment writer Pandit
Machala Upādhyāya flourished in Śaka 1725 and
was a resident of Mangarauni in Madhubani
sub-division in the Darbhanga district. It has
been copied from the original document.

(9) यः कश्चिद्वादी स्वार्थसिद्धये शालग्रामं करेण गृहीत्वा
ग्रामद्वयसीमानमुत्तवा मध्यस्थेन निश्चयार्थं पृष्टः पूर्वं भ्रमेणेवं
सीमोक्तेत्यवदत् । पुनर्दक्षिणामुखो गच्छन् शालग्रामसहितः
स्वग्रामीणेन निवारितस्सन् भ्रान्त्याहमत्रागत इत्यवदत् । तस्य
वादिनोऽर्थो न सिद्ध्यति । आकारैरिद्वितैर्गत्या चेष्टया भाषणेन च ।
नेत्रवक्त्रविकारैश्च गृह्यतेऽन्तर्गतं मनः ॥ आकारश्छाद्यमानोपि न
शक्यो विनिगूहितुम् । स बलाद्विवृणोत्येव भावमन्तर्गतं नृणाम् ॥
इत्याद्यार्षवचनेभ्यः स्वयमेव भ्रान्तत्वकथकस्य तथा निर्णयाच्च हि
भ्रमादर्थसिद्धिरिति न्यायाच्चेति निगदति श्रीखगपतिशर्मा ॥



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[PART II]

Leading Articles

PRE-HISTORY OR PROTO-HISTORY ?

By REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

There has been of late some confusion as regards the use of these names in the field of Indian History. It is true that, Mr. Panchanan Mitra¹, Mr. V. Rangacharya² and Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar³ have written creditable volumes on the pre-history of India. Collections of pre-historic antiquities are likewise exhibited in the museums of Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur, Hyderabad (Deccan) and other places ; and even well-prepared catalogues of some of these collec-

1. Mitra, *Pre-historic India*, (Calcutta, 1923).

2. Rangacharya, *History of Pre-Muslim India*, Vol. I, *Pre-historic India*, (Madras, 1929).

3. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *The Stone Age in India*, (Madras, 1926).

tions have been published'. Lately, a Gujarat pre-historic exploration has taken place under the joint auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, the Gujarat Research Society of Bombay and others, under the leadership of Dr. H. D. Sankalia. But we regret to say that the pre-historic field in India has for a very long time been neglected. Even such pre-historic studies have been on many occasions combined with and overshadowed by purely geological or anthropological researches of scientific value as opposed to historical interest.

Perhaps it is due to this lack of interest in Indian pre-history that the denomination "pre-history" seems to have been misused by some writers, thus fostering or at least silently allowing the invasion of the historical domains by pre-historical unfounded claims. That is the reason why we have decided to study a few historical notions in connection with the significance of the two denominations which head these lines.

Pre-history is properly speaking, outside the field of history. The Latin preposition *pre-*

¹ Foote, *The Foote Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic antiquities. Catalogue Raisonné*, Madras Government Museum. (Madras, 1914).

Foote, *The Foote Collection of Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic antiquities. Notes on their ages and Distribution* Madras Government Museum (Madras, 1916).

Rea, *Catalogue of the Pre-historic antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair* (Madras, 1915).

Brown, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pre-historic antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta* edited by Sir John Marshall (Simla, 1917).

means, "in front of". Thus *pre*-Aryan inhabitants are those who inhabited India before the Aryans arrived; and the *pre*-Mauryan history of Magadha would be the history of Magadha before the Mauryan dynasty. Just as in the former case those inhabitants were not Aryans, and in the latter the history of Magadha was not Mauryan, so in the denomination under study, *pre-history* is not history.

The reason of this apparently absurd explanation must be found in the definition of history itself. History is the written exposition of the result of the search for the facts of the men of the past¹. Yet this exposition or narrative of facts must be rational and methodical. As the Great French writer Seignobos rightly emphasises: "History is not, as has been said, a science of observation, but a science of reasoning. In order to use facts which have been observed under unknown conditions, it is necessary to apply criticism by analogy. The facts as furnished by criticism are isolated and scattered; in order to organise them into a structure it is necessary to imagine and group them in accordance with their resemblances to facts of the present day, an operation which also depends on the use of analogies. This necessity compels history to use an exceptional method. In order to frame its arguments from analogy, it must always combine the knowledge of the particular conditions under which the facts of the past occurred with an understanding of the

1. Garcia-Villada, *Metodologíe y Crítica Historicas*, p. 7 (Barcelona, 1921.)

general conditions under which the facts of humanity occur. Its method is to draw up special tables of the facts of an epoch in the past, and to apply to them sets of questions founded on the study of the present¹.

This method and rational exposition of facts can scarcely be followed while writing pre-history, for the simple reason that in the pre-historic period there are not enough data to build it up. One may have bone or stone implements and weapons, metal arms, rough ceramics, crude drawings on cave walls or ceilings, perhaps some remnants of buildings or fragments of statues. But all these relics will not tell us who were the authors of that primitive civilization. Thus, we shall not know for instance, what language they spoke, what race they belonged to, what social life they lived, what religion they professed, in general what was the medium in which they lived, and what were the human relations they had with other similar beings. Evidently the account that may be written after the study of those pre-historic relics cannot be reasonably systematic because there is no cohesion amongst them. These missing agglutinant elements would come from men's written records only, but these unfortunately are unknown to pre-history.

This is the general view and unanimous consent of all writers of history and pre-history. Men's written records divide the domains of both sciences. "Pre-history", says Burkitt, "is the study of man's civilization and life from the time

1. Langlois and Seignobos, *introduction to the Study of History*, p. 317.

he became human to the time of written records¹". Similarly Vayson de Pradenne says that pre-history is "the study of all that which concerns men before the appearance of written documents²". And Parkin, similarly avers that "the long lapse of time from men's first appearance on the earth to the earliest historical records is conveniently called the pre-historic period³". Accordingly, "pre-historic Archæology" says the great French scholars Dechелlette, "is the science of the antiquities prior to the earliest historical documents⁴".

According to all these authors the end of pre-history is marked by the appearance of written documents or historical records. In order to have a historical record we require at least one grammatical sentence. Consequently, the mere appearance of isolated characters does not put an end to pre-history nor constitute those characters as the threshold of history. Yet, a modern Spanish author of a treatise on pre-history Fr. Jesus Carvalho who is considered a great authority on pre-historic archæology of Northern Spain, and is the founder and Director of the Pre-historic Museum of the Secondary Institute, Santander, seems to exclude the appearance of isolated signs from the pre-historical period. "Pre-history," he says, "is the complete study of mankind in the times prior to the appea-

1 Burkitt, *Pre-history*, p. 2, (Cambridge, 1921).

2 Vayson de Pradenne, *La Pré-histoire*, p. 7, (Paris, 1938).

3 Parkin, *An introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art*, p. 2 (London, 1915).

4 Dechелlette, *Manual Archéologie Pré-historique*, I, p. 1 (Paris, 1924).

rance of writing¹". We regret to disagree with the opinion of Fr. Carvalho. The mere appearance of isolated characters would not lead us to understand the main elements of human civilization so as to be able to write a reasonable and systematic account of the actions of men. Mere isolated signs, though perhaps having a definite phonetic value may only indicate that we are stepping on the threshold of history, that we are going to bridge the gulf that separates history from pre-history. The period of isolated signs at most may be considered as the introduction to the study of history : but it is not history as yet.

After having studied what pre-history is, we are now in a position to settle definitely the boundaries between pre-history and history in the case of India. Twenty-five years ago, when the Indus Valley civilization had not yet been discovered, some strict writers might have started the historic period of India from the middle of the so-called Vedic period, excluding the Rgvedic times from it. For the *Rgveda* was not a written document. Yet, the fact that it was not written at the time of its composition and even at a much later period, would not have justified its exclusion from the historic period of India. If it was not written, it was not written *per accidens*. It was a series of highly human documents composed by men of great talent and of fully developed religious feelings. The historic period of India before the Indus Valley

¹ Carvalho, *Prehistoria Universalmente especial de España*, p. 13, (Madrid, 1924).

discoveries naturally started from the *R̥gveda* itself.

But the Indus Valley discoveries have completely changed the situation and have carried back the beginning of history of India many centuries earlier¹.

The most striking discovery made in the Indus Valley, is the collection of inscribed seals, the importance of which lies precisely in the fact that they are historical documents. To call the Mohanjo-Daro Harappa civilization pre-historic, would be a contradiction in terms, *vis.*, a pre-historic civilization with historical documents.

The contention of some that the inscriptions on the Indus Valley Seals have not yet been deciphered cannot change our position in relation to that period. We would give them the same reply we have put forward just now: they are not deciphered *per accidens*, *i. e.*, on account of our ignorance. Therefore the position of those people cannot change by the mere fact of deciphering or not deciphering their script. In the same way one could call pre-historic the wonderful Minoan Civilization of Crete or the not less extraordinary culture of the Etruscans of Italy: which otherwise are acknowledged by all as belonging to a fully developed historical period.

Therefore the pre-historic period of India for the present ends with the appearance of the culture of the Indus Valley which marks the first steps

¹ Cf. Heras, "Indian History Goes Back" *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, XI, pp. 496—500.

of historical man in India. Perhaps, some day, we shall be forced to enlarge still the historical period of India to an earlier age. Then we shall be able to write once more : " Indian history goes back ".

The proper denomination for the Indus Valley Culture would be " proto-historic ", a denomination which has already been used by a number of scholars and has also its parallel in the case of the above mentioned Mediterranean cultures. What would be the limits of this proto-historic period of India, it is left for the scholars to say. I would suggest that it should extend from the time of the Indus Valley Culture down to the invasion of Alexander the Great which is a definite landmark in our history and which has been its beginning in many historical works. Thus, the proto-historic period would embrace the culture of the proto-Indians proper, (*i. e.*, Indus Valley people), the so-called Vedic period and the age of the Epics,

A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CHRONICLE OF MUGHAL INDIA

By BRIJ NARAIN AND SRI RAM SHARMA

In the Dutch Record Office at Hague there are two copies of a '*Hindustan Chronicle*'. One is on Asiatic paper. It gives an account of Indian events from the beginning of the reign of Humayun to the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign. The last portion beginning with 'In the year 1036' to the end is written in a different hand but the whole story is brought down to the accession of Shah Jahan.

The second copy is bound up with the *Report* of Pelsaert 'on the present condition of the trade' in India. The *report* as well as the *Hindustan Chronicle* are written in the same hand. A comparison of this MS. with the Journal of the Ship, *Sardam* for 1629 reveals the fact that this MS. was written by Salomon Deschamps who was an under Factor on the ill-fated ship *Batavia* which sailed from Holland to the east in the fleet commanded by Pelsaert.

A comparison of these two Manuscripts with the *Fragment of the History of India gathered from Dutch sources and rendered into Latin* by Joannes De Laet (Antwerp, 1631) conclusively proves that a copy of this *Hindustan Chronicle* formed the basis of De Laet's work. De Laet besides being

a voluminous writer, was a Director of the Dutch East India Company. He tells us that he used a Dutch Chronicle compiled by Van Den Broecke, the Director of the Western hemisphere at Surat in the twenties of the seventeenth century. Van Den Broecke, sent 'a chronicle of Hindustan since the time of the grandfather of the present king based on materials which he had been able to collect' as an enclosure with his letter dated December 11, 1627 written on board the ship *Dordrecht* in the road of Sahally. It is reasonable to suppose that the Hague MS. on the Asiatic paper is the original of Van Den Broecke's chronicle. But Van Den Broecke referred to Jahangir as "the present king" and his chronicle must have closed with the events preceding Jahangir's death. Thus the additional section in a different hand in this MS. must have been added by some one else. But as this forms a part of De Laets' Latin work published in 1631 it must have been added to between the years 1628 and 1631 in Holland.

But the second MS. raises another question. Why should it have been bound up with a volume of Pelsaert's Report? Pelsaert started his service in India as a Junior Factor at the newly established Dutch factory at Agra where he rose to be the Senior Factor before he left India in 1627. Van den Broecke praises his good service, experience, and knowledge of the country and speaks of him as 'one well versed in the language of the country' as well, in the letter above referred to. Now in his *Report* Pelsaert speaks of a chronicle of the country which he 'intended

to write separately'. The *Report* was written while he was still in the country. One might hazard the guess that before he left India in December 1627, Pelsaert had written this account. He must have been carrying it home with him when he left India on the ship *Dordrecht*. The relations between Van den Broecke and Pelsaert seem to have been very cordial. Is it likely, one might very well ask oneself, that there were Manuscripts of two separate chronicles of Hindustan on board the same ship? Of course one cannot reject this as an impossibility. But it seems more likely that in compiling his chronicle Van Den Broecke might have made use of his Agra subordinate's knowledge of the language of the country. His chief at Surat could have easily asked Pelsaert, the Senior Factor at Agra, to send him a draft of a chronicle of India. Pelsaert could have easily done this work but one can imagine him retaining a copy of the draft himself. He could have then employed his own subordinate Deschamps on board the ship Batavia to make out a copy both of his *Report* which he must have sent to Holland much earlier as well as of his Chronicle. That would account for both the MSS. being bound in one volume. Whether Pelsaert wrote a draft which Van Den Broecke utilized incorporating in it some material of his own as well or whether his superior at Surat palmed off Pelsaerts' work as his own must remain an open question. It is difficult, however, to imagine Broecke sending the chronicle to Holland in his own name on the same ship on

which Pelsaert was travelling. Pelsaert could have easily exposed his chief in Holland. It is more likely, therefore, that Pelsaert might have been asked as a part of his official duties to compile this chronicle. It is difficult to imagine Broecke and Pelsaert combining together to produce jointly a report to be submitted as an official paper to Holland. The chronicle, therefore, seems to have been the work of Pelsaert who, however, could not claim any personal credit for it as he had compiled it during his day's business.

But if Pelsaert wrote it at Agra wherefrom did he obtain his materials? He could have only based his earlier account of the Mughal empire on some Persian MSS. But none of the contemporary works in Persian now extant can claim the honour of being Pelsaert's original. The blunders of which Pelsaert is guilty in his account of Humayun and Akbar, could not have been committed by any Indian historian. It is not necessary to produce many specific examples of his ignorance or worse about these two reigns. Any serious student of Indian history would detect these 'howlers'. His muddle-headed story of the conflict between Sher Shah and Humayun and his rather absurd chronology of Humayun's wandering after the birth of Akbar are enough proof that he could not have used a contemporary Persian chronicle for the purpose of compiling his work. He dates Sher Shah's death in 1550 and makes Firoze Khan instead of Salim his successor. His account of Akbar's conquest of Gujrat rolls into one account what happened during two separate expeditions to

that country. He succeeds no better in his account of the Mughal conquest of Bengal.

Of course Pelsaert claims that he translated 'what occurred before my time' from 'an Indian historian'. But as he blames this 'historian' for failing to give the correct dates of various events, it is more likely that the alleged historian was probably a 'Munshi' employed for the purpose of producing in Persian a 'chronicle' of Hindustan. No 'historian' could have been guilty of such mistakes in 1627 as disfigure Pelsaert's account of the reigns of Humayun and Akbar.

It is more likely then that Pelsaert consulted—or caused to be consulted—several Persian chronicles. When he sat down to write his own account in Dutch, he sometimes got confused in the maze of Indian history though his Persian studies appear in certain phrases which could occur in a chronicle compiled by a Dutchman only if he was translating a Persian document. Thus he talks of 'the fire of enmity' breaking out between Humayun and Kamran. The Mirzas are described at one place to have 'wished to come under the shadow of King Akbar'. Mahabat Khan on learning of his own son's turning against him 'seemed without hands and feet'. Jahangir's victories are always described as due to 'God's grace'. His description of the time follows the Indian fashion speaking of *Gharis* and *Pahars*. The use of these terms was so outlandish in a Dutch text that De Laet hopelessly blundered in rendering them into Latin. Shah Jahan reaches Rohtas from Tonsa in 6 pahars. De Laet rendered that saying that Shah Jahan 'fled

so swiftly that he reached Rohtas in 36 days'. But the most conclusive proof is Pelsaert's description of the renunciation of Christianity by Hoshang and Tahmuras whom Jahangir had placed under the Jesuits. Jahangir took them away whereupon, adds Pelsaert, 'they were again united with and received among those of *our* faith'.

Thus even though De Laet's book—and therefore, his originals Pelsaert or Van den Broecke's chronicle—might have 'long ranked as the best general account of India', its value in Europe was due to the fullness of its account rather than to its accuracy. It is wrong to talk of its being based on 'a genuine chronicle of the empire' as Dr. Vincent Smith did. It is 'one of the early authorities for the history of the reign of Akbar', no doubt, but its numerous blunders—of course so easily detectable sometimes—detract very much from its value as an independent source of the history of Humayun and Akbar. It is true that it records many rumours—among them, the one crediting Akbar's death to poison which he indented to use against some one else—which the Dutch factor might have picked up during his stay at Agra. For the reign of Jahangir one might consider it an independent compilation of contemporary events by a European contemporary and as such much more useful than in the earlier period.

But De Laet was not content with translating Van den Broecke's chronicle. He added to it sometimes and he omitted passages he did not think worth-while—compare his account of Akbar's death by poison with his Dutch original. When he

misunderstood a passage, he led his readers far away from his original—witness his rendering of the passage about Shah Jahan's plight cited above. Otherwise as well, he seems to have taken considerable liberties with his text. It is very seldom that he faithfully reproduces his Dutch original. Thus an English translation of the Dutch original seems to be desirable even though we have an English translation of De Laet's Latin version. The English translation now offered was made by Professor Brij Narain more than fifteen years ago. I have modernized the spelling of Indian names and identified places and persons mentioned in the text and added notes intended to help the reader in evaluating the text. They prove my contention about the value of the work as an independent source of information for the Mughal period.

A CHRONICLE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Brief account of King Humayun, who in consequence of losing a battle in the course of his wars against the Pathans was compelled to fly to Persia. But later returning, (from Persia) through his good fortune as well as bravery, he defeated the Pathans and reconquered the greater part of his lost empire. He suddenly died at Delhi and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Fath Jalaluddin Muhammad (Akbar). The latter was then 12 years of age" but thanks to the wisdom and courage of his guardian (Bairam Khan), they continued in their victorious course. Finally King Akbar took the reins of government into his own hands, and he governed his empire with such success that he not only

added to his ancestral possessions, but made himself rich above all kings of the world. Finally, as the result of his own mistake, he died in the fort of Agra². His eldest son³ Salim inherited the kingdom. He followed in the footsteps of his father for a few years, but then gave himself up to pleasures, allowed himself to be misguided by women, and became addicted to drink, caring very little about his kingdom, as the kind reader will easily see for himself.

Many of us in our country, or in Europe, know very little about the history of the kings of Hindustan, except that we call them the Great Mughal, because they are descended from successful monarch Tamerlane, called by us Tamborlanus¹. When he died in the year 1405 he left behind four sons, and that was why the large empire that he had built split up into parts, which led to its fall, and the sully of its fair name. They (the descendants of Taimur) had their ups and downs. It would be very tedious and difficult to relate the rise and fall of Taimur's descendants in detail. We shall, therefore begin with King Humayun, grandfather of the present King and sixth in the line of descent from Tamerlane, Miran Shah, Sultan Muhammad Mirza, Sultan Abovrayet, (Sultan Abu Said), Ummar Shaikh, Baburshah and Humayun. It will be seen how his (Humayun's) condition became wretched and how fickle fortune again helped him. Thus:—

In the year of Christ . . .⁴ King Humayun led his army from Agra to Bengal with the object of bringing that country under his sway. He succeeded in this and defeated the Pathans. He gave the

country the name of Jannatabad and resided there for a year, when Farid Khan, the Pathan king of the town Natt (Nahat in the Sarkar of Jannatabad) prepared for war and again raised the standard of revolt. Through violence as well as cunning he succeeded in occupying Bihar with the whole of his army, and also the fort of (the) Raja (of) Rohtas. Leaving his women here for the sake of safety, he set out with 65,000 Pathans to offer battle to King Humayun⁵. The latter, who was at that time in Jannatabad, on learning this, started in all haste for Patna. When he reached Chaunsa, he found Farid Khan (called Sher Shah in those parts) encamped there with his army. King Humayun offered battle to Sher Khan at this place but was defeated and compelled to fly to Agra. Here he reinforced his defeated army with large fresh forces and called to him all his ommerauws or dukes and nobles from all places, and with this new army, again left Agra in all haste and approached the river Ganges. When Sher Shah received this news, he ordered 20,000 horses to push forward 15 *coses* that day in order to prevent the crossing of the Ganges. Humayun, trusting to the great number of his troops, could not imagine that the Pathan army that had been sent ahead, would dare to attack him. He, therefore, spent the whole night in pleasure and the enjoyment of playing, singing and dancing, having very little suspicion of what might possibly happen. He thought very little of the enemy, and had decided to attack Sher Shah the next day. Spies informed Sher Shah of what Humayun was doing on account of his

conceit, telling him how the whole army lay unsuspecting and off its guard, spending their time only in singing and dancing. Therefore, Sher Shah sent also Khwas Khan with 10,000 horses, who covered 15 *coses* during the same night, and came in sight of Humayun's army in the morning. Humayun and all his ommerauws and soldiers, having kept awake all night, had all fallen asleep without taking the trouble of posting guards. Perceiving this situation, Khawas Khan attacked Humayun at dawn slaying a great number of ommerauws and mansabdars. Great terror, din and lamentation broke out which awakened the King. Seeing that the enemy had cunningly taken him by surprise and that he could not rally his men (or resist the enemy) as every one was mounting his horse and shamefully taking to flight although most of them were drowned in the Ganges or slain by the enemy. King Humayun seeing that he was deserted by almost every one and could not resist the Pathans, resolved to save himself. He fled to the Ganges all alone where a Sacaha or water-carrier was standing, who immediately recognised the king, and thought of a plan of saving him. As Humayun could not swim, he inflated his water-skin by blowing air into it, put it under him and took Humayun in his shoulders and thus brought him in safety to the other shore, where luckily they found a horse belonging to a soldier who had been drowned in the river⁶. The king mounted it and rode to Agra, leaving all that he had; elephants, horses, camels, gold, silver, precious stones—for when the kings of this country go to war,

their paraphernalia and splendour are as great as when they go to attend a feast. Indeed, his daughter and all his women and the women of all his ommeraws, and the whole of his army fell into the hands of the Pathans. Sher Shah had tents put up for the women, and treated them with great honour, committing no outrage himself nor permitting any Pathans to do anything which was in the least degree improper. Nor did he wish that any of his men should marry any Mogallane. Sher Shah maintained such praiseworthy discipline in his army because he always remembered the instability of fortune. Since he had won that great and unexpected victory by a turn of fickle Fortune's wheel, and the defeat of such a mighty monarch was to be ascribed not to his bravery but to God who had punished Humayun for his audacity, he never forgot what had happened to Humayun, could another time happen to him. In order to pursue his victory, Sher Shah set out for Agra with his whole army subduing all places and towns in the way. Humayun was in Agra but he did not consider himself strong enough to await the arrival of the enemy. Tzuilebegem, (?) his second wife who had remained behind in Agra, being pregnant went with the king to Ajmer⁷. They reached the country of Ziermaeb, (Jaisalmer?) and put up in the fort of Amar, where his wife gave birth to a son afterwards called Akbar. From there he left hurriedly for Lahore⁸, which was ruled by his brother Mirza Kamran. He said that he had himself heard that the Pathan army lay encamped in Sirhind and that conquering everything they

were approaching very near. And he added "Since the fear of the Pathans fills your heart, remain here. I shall see whether my sword is not more useful against them". Humayun began to hate his brother for this conceited utterance. He left Lahore and set out for Kashmir, where at that time one of his ommerauws was governor^o. But Humayun did not know that the Omarow had recently died. His death had been followed by a revolt of the Kashmiris who had fortified the town Cothel (Khushab ?) and closed the road or entry into the mountains. The king learnt these evil tidings when he had arrived near Cothel. He therefore, turned back to Multan, for the fire of enmity had broken out between him and Mirza Kamran, who had also been compelled to fly from Lahore, and who by rapid marches had cut off Humayun from the road to Kabul^o. From there he wrote to his brother Mirza Askari, who was at that time the ruler of Qandahar, that he should be on his guard and fortify his castle, and in case Humayun went to Qandahar, he should not allow him to enter the country but drive him away or make war upon him as an enemy. He explained the reasons for this in details.

In the meantime Sher Khan arrived in Lahore and took the town without meeting any resistance. He sent all the Moghallane prisoners, the women of king Humayun and of other nobles from Lahore to Kabul, with great honour and pomp, providing them with everything that was necessary for the journey, and giving them in charge of eunuchs, with an escort of his own

soldiers. They arrived safely in Kabul. Sher Khan continuing to advance boldly, made himself master of Multan and the neighbouring country.

Humayun had been in Multan a short time before. From here he had sent Munim Khan with letters addressed to Shah Husain, governor of Thatta, on behalf of Mirza Ghameshaen (?)¹¹ requesting permission to pass through his country on the way to Sind. But Shah Hussain threw Munim Khan into prison at Thatta¹² and wrote to Humayun that it would not help him to take that road but that if he wished to go to Persia, he should travel by the road to Qandahar. The king finding that his request had been refused and that he had been deserted by all friends, was compelled to set out for Qandahar under great difficulties¹³. Arriving in Sahwan coss from the town, he wrote to Mirza Askari his brother, that he should permit him to enter Qandahar in order to place his women in safety in the castle¹⁴. But as he and his brother Kamran had formed an alliance against Humayun, he wrote a stiff letter in reply and began to prepare to drive out Humayun. The latter seeing this, left his wife, Tzinlebegam, and his son Akbar who was now a year old with the nurse and female slaves and all the baggage in Sahwan and himself set out, with all possible speed, with Bairam Khan and a few brave men whom Bairam Khan had been able to recruit here, on the road to Persia and reached Swastan. After his brother's departure Mirza Askari sent for the forsaken wife of Humayun and the young son and kept

them as prisoners in the castle of Qandahar, and also took possession of all the goods that were left with them. See how this wicked world makes the wrong man shine by the lustre of virtue. For the brothers, who should have stood by Humayun treated to him much worse than an open enemy. Sher Shah, moved by a feeling of pity and following the example of Alexander the Great sent back with all honour, the dearest possession of the conquered enemy (which one must consider to be wife and children), on other hand, Mirza Askari, Humayun's natural brother, had not only no sympathy for him in his adversity and unheard of misfortunes (which as one can well imagine will give more pain to such a king than to a common man) but inspired by a cursed jealousy, lest Humayun should begin to prosper again through his help, not only drove him away as an enemy, but kept his wife and children as prisoner and seized their goods, as if there was no God who punished or rewarded men at the proper time. These brothers lived to hear and see the later development of events, which they thought they had finally settled.

King Tuhmasp of Persia had already learnt about Humayun's defeat before the latter left Qandahar, so that he knew that Humayun was coming. So he wrote to the governor of Herat that as soon as Humayun arrived there, he should receive him with all honours due to such a king and go a few miles to meet him and show him more honour than he would to himself (Tuhmasp) if he went there in person and to hold feasts

and entertainments in his honour daily. He ordered him to entertain Humayun in such a manner that there should be reason to praise him. When Humayun was 12 miles from the town Herat, the governor with all mansabdars and citizens rode out to meet him with marks of greatest honor and brought him in. He entertained Humayun for 3 or 4 days with gorgeous feasts, presenting to him many horses, gold, cloths and other valuable things. Further he wrote to all governors and inhabitants of Tuhmasp's country that wherever Humayun should happen to go they should receive and accompany him with the greatest marks of respect. These instructions were carried out more faithfully than king Humayun could have ever imagined. Finally he came to Ghasrien (Qazvin) where Shah Tuhmasp resided. He sent his own brother Mirza Bairam with all ommerauws and royal attendants to meet Humayun 10 miles from the town and bring him in, ordering all streets and markets to be decorated and hung with mirrors. Mirza Bairam received Humayun with all possible honour and joy and brought him to his brother Shah Tuhmasp who, after embracing him several times bade him welcome. And nothing pleased him better than to make the unfortunate fugitive cheerful by driving away his melancholy with the help of recreation provided by players, singers and dancers. Dinner was ordered to be served and Mirza Bairam showed such energy in serving at table that Humayun was surprised. He praised Shah Tuhmasp saying "That is how brothers, should

be kept. My brothers, whom I enriched by giving lands, have been most unkind to me in my misfortunes". These words of Humayun seriously annoyed Mirza Bairam and he began to hate Humayun secretly. He ridiculed Humayun daily before his brother saying with great contempt that when Shah Ismail was king, Babur Shah, the father of Humayun, was, or must have been, only gardener or grain-seller, and that was also the source of livelihood of all his friends. By constantly dinning it into the ears of Shah Tuhmasp he brought it about that, instigated by him, Shah Tuhmasp would have him put to death. But Begum Sultana, sister of Shah Tuhmasp who was gifted with extraordinary wisdom and eloquence, took pity on Humayun. She went to her brother and rebuked him for what he was planning to do, with many arguments, saying "Humayun is sprung from Temrid kings, who have shown much kindness to our ancestors, given them lands which you possess to this day. It therefore behoves you not to return evil for good, but so to re-pay the favours received that through him your kindness may be remembered by his descendants and all the world". Hearing these words, which seemed to have been uttered more by a philosopher than a mere woman (who was his sister), Shah Tuhmasp gave up his designs against Humayun and followed her advice". He gave orders that Humayun should be provided with everything that was necessary for his journey, such as horses, camels tents and the equipment of war, and whatever else he might require. When all this had been collected

Shah Tuhmasp was the first to inspect it. He also ordered the following nobles with other omeraws and mansabdars to accompany Humayun to Hindustan. Ghantzamma, (Khan Zaman) Bodah Khan, Shah Quli Khan Narenzie, father of Hasan Quli Khan, Ismail Quli Khan Qarabars¹⁷. Humayun took leave of Shah Tuhmasp in Gasrin (Qazvin) and set out with his whole army towards Qandahar, which he reached in a short time. He laid siege to the town where his brother Mirza Askari had fortified the castle and prepared it for defence. This exasperated the king and he prepared his guns for the bombardment of the castle. When Mirza Askari observed this and thought that the bombardment would begin, he took the young son of Humayun who was then two years old and was a prisoner in the hands of Mirza Askari, and placed him on the bulwark in front of the army. Humayun did not bombard the castle for the sake of the child¹⁸, and Mirza Askari defended the castle for two or three months, at the end of which period he was compelled to surrender, Humayun promising and swearing on their religious book to spare his life. After forgiving the wrong done to him by his brother, Humayun went to Qandahar and Askari went to his brother Mirza Kamran who was in Kabul and told him about what had happened and that fortune was beginning to favour Humayun again. But Humayun did not fail to take advantage of his victory. He set out for Kabul, conquered the town and captured Mirza Kamran. As a punishment he had his eyes put out by means of wine and sent

him to Sind instructing the governor of that country to place him in a ship sailing to Mecca. This was done, and Mirza Kamran finally died there.¹⁹

In the year of Christ 1550, or 960 Mohameden style, Sher Khan or Sher Shah, the Pathan king and ruler of the whole of Hindustan died of gout in the fort of Gwalior leaving behind his son Firoz Khan, who was 12 years²⁰ old. Being next of kin, all princes who were then present wished unanimously to declare Firoz Khan king, with the exception of Adil Khan, brother-in-law of Sher Shah and uncle of Firoz Shah, who wished to seize the empire for himself. He also accomplished his purpose by getting his nephew murdered on the very day on which he was to be declared king, and usurped the kingdom.²¹ This aroused the indignation of almost all the nobles who were present in the castle of Gwalior then and they grumbled, as also the princes who were not present there, but governed the provinces and the frontiers. They rebelled and rose against the usurper, not acknowledging him as the king. Adil Khan finding that the whole country had risen against him, resolved to subdue the rebels with force. He collected a large army and leaving Gwalior marched rapidly towards Chilnaer, (Chhabraman, forty karoh from Agra and thirty from Qanoj) which was then a large and prosperous town. He took Chilnaer without much difficulty.

Humayun, who was then in Kabul, learnt the news of Sher Shah's death in the same year in

which he died.²² When he had ascertained the truth of the report and that differences existed between the new king and the princes, he felt very happy and thought the time for defeating his old enemy had come, now that fortune had begun to smile upon him again. He hastily collected together an army and left Kabul and hurried towards Hindustan with rapid daily marches, conquering in the way all towns and villages and meeting no one who offered resistance or checked his progress until he arrived at the town Sirhind.²³ Here Sikandar Khan Afghan, an old and trusted prince of the late king Salim Shah was governor.²⁴ With 10,000 horses he fought a hard battle with Humayun and fought for an incredibly long time, but in the end was compelled to fly. Only a thousand horsemen survived the battle and they fled to the Kangra hills. After this victory Humayun gave his son Abdul Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad in charge of the duke Bairam Khan making him the boy's guardian and foster-father. He made him also the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army and sent him, along with his son, in pursuit of the fugitive Sikandar Khan, with orders to follow him wherever he might go and to capture him, alive or dead. After taking Sirhind Humayun proceeded to Delhi, and sent Ali Kuli, Tzemarschan Tsamma (Khan-i-Zaman) and Bahadur Khan to the Doab, or the country situated between the rivers Ganges and Jamuna, with instructions to subjugate all the country, which they happily did. Bairam Khan also had defeated and slain the fugitive Sikandar Khan.²⁵

It was scarcely two or three months after his arrival in Delhi that the king had a new palace built there. On a certain afternoon, while descending the stairs, he heard the call to prayers. He therefore, sat down on a step and bent down his head over his hands, having a staff under his arm-pits. And as he usually ate much opium, he began to dose. The staircase was slippery as it had been plastered over with lime and thus the staff slipped from under him and he rolled down from top over 40 steps to the ground, so that his whole body was crushed by the fall. On the third day he died in Delhi in A. D. 1552 or 962 A. H.

Tardi Khan, a great noble of the king was at that time in Delhi with his army. The news of Humayun's death soon reached Adil Khan who had taken refuge in Chunar. He gave his general Hemu, a low caste heathen, 10,000 horses and sent him to Delhi to fight the Mughuls, also giving him a large quantity of money, for payment to soldiers and 500 elephants to carry it. Hemu hurried from Chunar to Delhi. At that time prince Abdul Fath Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar and Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan with the larger portion of the army were in Kohistan engaged in subduing some enemies. On receiving the news of Humayun's death they left for Kalanor where Bairam Khan had Akbar proclaimed king and his Khutoba read. Then with the whole army, they hurried to Delhi, for Hemu had reached the town before them. Tardi Khan was the governor of Delhi, but he withdrew from the town with his forces and met Bairam Khan and Akbar on the

way. He was not received very heartily, for Bairam Khan hated him for his withdrawal. But he dissembled his hatred and invited Tardi Khan to a dinner, and after the dinner had him murdered by one of his attendants with a poniard. After these occurrences Akbar and Bairam Khan summoned Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan with certain forces in Miane-doab or the country between the Ganges and the Jamuna, and sent them an army from Panipat²⁶ to attack Hemu, who had occupied Delhi. Akbar and Bairam Khan themselves followed with the greater part of the army at a distance of 5 to 6 cose. At Tillepat²⁷ which is situated between Panipat and Delhi, Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan met Hemu and a skirmish took place there. But Hemu had not paid his soldiers. They were grumbling and unwilling to fight, and did not obey orders. So that when the battle began they turned and fled shamefully.²⁸ Hemu was wounded in the eye by an arrow. All the treasure, elephants and the rest of the camp of Hemu as well as of other omeras fell into the hands of king Akbar's army.

Shah Quli Khan in the course of the battle saw an elephant driver or Philowan urge on a flying elephant. Thereupon he took an arrow from his quiver and was about to shoot the driver when the latter cried out "Noble Mogol, why kill me? In the Ambary or housing upon the elephant lies Hemu the general of the army, shot with an arrow in the eye". Shah Quli Khan took possession of the elephant and Hemu and brought him into his army.

When Prince Akbar received the news of the defeat of the Pathans, he himself hurried there with Bairam Khan.²⁰ Shah Quli Khan presented to him the prisoner Hemu and the elephant, pulling Hemu out of the Ambarry. Then Bairam Khan took a sword and put it into the hands of Prince Akbar who was then 14 years old and said "Put this godless heathen to death by your own hand". The Prince did as he was told, being young and unable to think for himself. With one stroke he cut off the head which fell at a distance.²¹ They had it immediately hung at the gates of Delhi. After this victory, the Prince, Bairam Khan, Ali Quli Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Khan again set out with their large army towards *miāne-doab*, marching along the river Tziatsau to Jaunpur, subjugating all towns and places. Wherever they found an enemy, or Pathans, they defeated or drove them away, garrisoning the country with their own troops. Then Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan were placed in the command of the whole army with instructions to advance further, while the Prince and Bairam Khan returned to Agra and conquered the whole province without any difficulty. Soon afterwards came the news that Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan had fought a hard battle near Sambhal with the Pathans who had received reinforcements, and had beaten and driven them to Lakhno. There large bodies of forces drove them out and captured the town. Ali Quli Khan advanced to Chand and then to Jaunpur, where the Pathans had again rallied their forces. But fate was against them, and they were again defeated.

Thus these two nobles, by their bravery, brought the whole country, from the Ganges to the river Tziatsau,—the river of Chaunsa, *i. e.*, in which Chaunsa stands (= Karmnasa)—under the Prince's sway. For the Prince was young and spent his whole time in Agra in playing, hunting, and similar pastimes.

Bairam Khan, who, as commanded by the Prince's father Humayun, looked after the Prince and acted as his guardian, had taken into his own hands the government of the whole country, and the soldiers were attached to him, and not to the Prince. This annoyed the Prince. With the help of his nurse, Maham Anaga, he thought out a plan which he put into the effect, with the object of freeing himself from Bairam Khan's control, so that he might rule as an independent king. One day he asked Bairam Khan's permission to go to hunt across the river Jamuna near *Kohat Zelali*. Bairam Khan gave the permission, but told a large body of men to go with Akbar. Maham Anaga also went then to see Akbar safely across the river, but as if hunting, they reached *Kohat* (Sikandra), from where the said nurse led him to Delhi. Shahab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, who was the Governor of Delhi, on behalf of the Prince, came to him as if to assist him in the chase. He lost no time in summoning all nobles and princes round about Delhi to acknowledge Akbar as their king, for Delhi is the old capital where all their kings were crowned. When Bairam Khan learnt this, he sent all umaras and mansabadars who were with him at Agra to Delhi to serve Akbar,

their master and King, and wrote to the King the following letter of apology:—

"I have never endeavoured to increase my own power, or done anything except that which may bring you honour and augment your dominion, the reason being that you were still young and, through bad advice, could be easily led away from your best interests. I also wished to fulfil what I promised to your father before his death. But as your Majesty, by the grace of God, has attained wisdom, your slave wishes you to be happy with your empire and in the conquest of your enemies. Further I beg that as I have grown old and have rendered many important services to the kingdom, I may be allowed to tender my resignation and permitted to go to Mecca to end my days there."

This permission was immediately granted to him by the king.³¹

The Duke Bairam Khan accompanied by all his old servants, family and women, left Agra for Gujarat by the way of Mewar. He arrived at Patan where there was a large tallaub or water tank. One day he went in a boat to amuse himself on the tank. When he returned and landed, he was attacked and wounded with a sword by one of his servants, a Pathan. He died shortly afterwards. The Pathan declared that Bairam Khan had put his father to death some time ago, and that he had killed Bairam Khan to avenge that death.

Thus this brave man, after performing many deeds of valour, winning victories and going through deadly perils, was destined to perish miserably at the hands of a wretch.

After this tragic occurrence, his family and kith and kin returned from Patan to the King at Agra. At that time Mirza Abdur Rahim son of Bairam Khan, was 12 years old. The King took him under his care so that he may receive proper education and be brought up under good discipline.

The Pathan kings had in those days built the fort of Agra with bricks. but it was old and the greater part of it was in a state of decay. Akbar therefore ordered it to be rebuilt with red, hewn stones of Sikri, now called Fatehpur. It was to be made as strong as possible, and to be built in a manner which would perpetuate Akbar's memory and make his name great in the world. For this work of construction Kasim Khan, Mir-i-Bar, possessed peculiar skill and knowledge. Many skilled master-builders were summoned from different parts of the country for building a fort the like of which in beauty, size and magnificence had never been built by any one before.

At this time the King came to know that one Jaimal Patta, Rajput subject of Rai Ranna depending on his wisdom and courage, had revolted against his master and seized the fort of Chitor and brought under subjection all the neighbouring towns and villages, and also a considerable amount of King Akbar's territory.²² The fort of Chitor is built on a high mountain, and is so strongly fortified by nature that no king of Delhi has ever

been able to take it. King Sultan Ala-ud-Din went to conquer Chitor with his whole army, and he besieged it for 12 years, but finally abandoned the siege and returned to Delhi in great disgrace, having accomplished nothing.³³

King Akbar, knowing all this, still determined to try his luck. Preparing all the guns that he had in his arsenal and taking a fairly large army with him, he set out for Chitor. He besieged the castle for six months, during which time Jaimal Patta made many sallies, often with great success. Finally King Akbar ordered a party of Turkish soldiers, who were in his service to dig a mine under the castle, right up to a bulwark from which (the defenders) inflicted much damage on the King's army. The mines were filled with a large quantity of gun-powder, and when it was lighted, the whole of the bulwark blew up. A passage thus having been made, the King's troops (in spite of great resistance) entered the fort.

Jaimal Patta, seeing this, shut up his and other Rajput women in one place, which they themselves set on fire. And the men fought till they fell dead, and the fort was captured by the King. Akbar had the figures of Jaimal Patta and of another chief, sitting on elephants, carved in stone or plaster and, in memory of this victory, they were placed on either side of the large inner entrance of his castle at Agra.

Returning to Agra after his victory Akbar found that the castle that he had ordered to be built had been finished.

At this time³⁴ he received letters from Sharif Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das from Lahore informing him that his brother Muhammad Hakim had come down from Kabul and invaded Lahore. He had taken possession of the whole province by force and besieged the town, so that war was being continually waged with him. It was for this reason absolutely necessary that he should come speedily to the relief of the town, and to put down the revolt.

The King having read these tidings, prepared for war, and with his whole army, elephants and other military equipment hastened to Lahore.

The King had reached Sirhind when Mirza Muhammad Hakim learnt that his brother was coming. He was overcome with fear, broke up his army and abandoning all his tents, fled by night to Kabul, so that a large quantity of goods and valuables of Mirza Muhammad and his followers fell into the hands of Akbar's troops.

Arriving at Lahore, Akbar reduced the country of Bannesaet (Bangesh) and the towns round about and appointing his *umara* as governors over all places, returned to Lahore.³⁵ Here he received a letter from his mother Marim Makani Hamida Banu Begum from Agra that Ali Quli Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan, whom he had left in command at Lucknow, had raised the standard of revolt and were plundering the King's country and destroying towns and villages. Indeed they had ventured to come to Agra. The King did not wait after reading this, but hastened back to Agra with his army and crossed the river

Jamuna. The rebels finding that the King in person was coming against them with a large army, fled to Lucknow and from there to Kara Manikpur. But Akbar overtook them between Fethpur and Karamanikpur. A great battle took place in which Ali Quli Khan and many of his followers were slain, but Bahadur Khan who was caught among the lines of the elephants, was captured alive and brought before the King. He was immediately ordered to be beheaded.

After defeating the rebels, the King appointed Khan-i-Khanan and Munim Khan³⁶ to govern the province of Jaunpur. Jaunpur was not far from Chaunsa where Mian (and) Sulaiman Lodi, with a Pathan army, were waiting for a profitable opportunity to fight. The King, with the greater part of the army, returned safely to Agra, thanking God for the victory, and earnestly praying for the birth of a son and heir. For this reason he resolved to make a pilgrimage on foot from Agra to Ajmer to the tomb of Saint Ghazi Muin-ud-Din. He prepared for the journey and set out in the Muslim year 964, travelling with his wife, Marim Makani, 4 coss daily. In memory of it he built all along the road, at each coss, a mound or milestone, and near it, for the convenience of travellers, a well, and at a distances of 8 coss a Mahal or house for women.

At Ajmer, the King distributed alms to the poor and assigned a large income to the musoleum. After spending a short time there he turned towards Agra, and passed through Sikri where also lived a Shaikh or holy man, named Shaikh Salim. The

King visited him and told him what God had willed, and why he had gone to Ajmer. The holy man did not say that day what was to happen, but the next day he told one of the nearest relations of the King that Akbar would have three sons. The King was overjoyed on learning this, and firmly believed that what Shaikh Salim had said would come to pass. The latter also said that his wife, whom he had sent to Agra, was already pregnant, and asked him to call her to Sikri. The King did as he was told, and in due course a son was born who was called Sultan Salim after the Shaikh.

The King celebrated his joy at this birth with great feasts and entertainments. Then came a second son, who was named Shah Murad, and after him the third and the youngest Shah Danial, so that the King had three sons, as the holy Shaikh had prophesied. One day, therefore, the King went to visit Shaikh Salim at Sikri³⁷ and commanded that near his house a mosque should be built on a hill, grander than any other mosque, and that the Shaikh (when he died), should be buried in a central place in a magnificent musoleum. He also desired a palace to be built for himself there for he intended to reside there, and that the town should be surrounded by a stone wall. To give effect to the King's command skilled master-builders were summoned from different parts of the country to finish the work as early as possible.

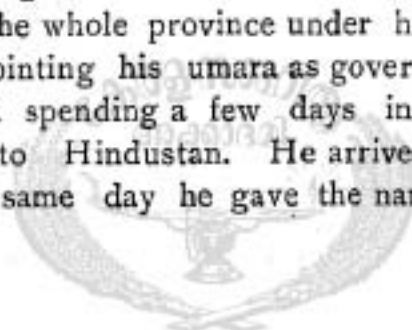
Khan Azam wrote to the King from Gujarat that the sons of Mirza Ibrahim, Mirza Shah, and

Mirza Muhammad Hussain who, before this, had caused trouble in Hindustan, had invaded Gujarat and risen against His Majesty, plundering and ruining his country. Many thieves, vagabonds and inhabitants of Gujarat had joined them, and Mirza Ibrahim Husain, with his followers, had laid siege to Ahmedabad, as the result of which women, and all other subjects of His Majesty were shut up in the castle.

The King received these tidings in Sikri, and without delay ordered 700 dromedaries or camels, who could travel 60 to 70 coss in 24 hours to be got ready for the expedition. Mounting a camel himself, with 700 of his most trusted umara and followers similarly mounted, he covered 400 coss in 7 days,³⁸ and encamped close to Ahmedabad. The arrival of the King took the enemy by surprise, and as they did not know the number of those who had followed him, struck with terror, they abandoned the town and fled.

Khan Azam and all other umara and mansabdars who, on account of the fear of the enemy were hiding in one place or another, went in a body to welcome the King. The King, with the force that he had with him, rushed after the enemy, whom he soon overtook. When he was very close to the enemy, he made Khan Azam (Aziz) Koka the general of the army and gave him his royal standard and 10,000 cavalry, some elephants and all the guns, in order to fight Mirza Ibrahim. The King, with his followers, stationed himself a little away from the line of battle. The battle began. Khan Azam Koka was killed, which caused great

dismay among the troops, and the King was informed of this. He, therefore, himself rushed to the front. The enemy, on seeing his flags, were struck with terror, and it was not long before they took to flight, Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Shah had fallen in the battle, but Mirza Muhammad Husain was captured alive and brought before the King, who ordered him to be immediately beheaded.³⁹ After this victory the King ordered the fort of Surat (which is situated on the sea coast) to be captured, which was done in a few days without encountering much resistance.⁴⁰ Thus the King brought the whole province under his sway, and after appointing his umara as governors over all places and spending a few days in Gujarat, he returned to Hindustan. He arrived in Sikri to which the same day he gave the name of Sikri Fatehpur.



THE NÂGAS IN MAGADHA

By L. B. KENY

The clan of the Nâgas is a very confusing clan. There exists a great divergence of opinion amongst scholars with regard to the exact characteristics of the people. To them is devoted much ill-considered argument and a very crude and vague speculation. Though most formidable, they appear to be the most mysterious of all the tribes of ancient India. They are a wonderful set of people.

The tribe of the Nâgas is a very ancient one in India¹. They are spread not only throughout India² herself but all over the habitable globe³.

Before explaining their existence in the land of Magadha, it would be advisable to mention the different, and so confusing, ways about the origin of the Nâgas.

Some scholars explain them as being originated in the worship of the Nâga (serpent), the worshippers of the Nâga, according to them, being called the Nâgas³. According to some

1 Menon, *Dravidian Culture and its diffusion*, pp. 80-81.

2 Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 93; Gupta, "The Nâgas and the Nâga Cult in Ancient Indian History", *Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress*, p. 215; Menon, *op. cit.* p. 79; *E. R. E.* XI, p. 413 ff; Dikshitar, "South India in the Râmâyana", *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conf.* p. 248.

3 Atkinson, *Himalayan District Gazetteer*, 1884, p. 373; *E. R. E.*, XI, p. 414; Will Durant, *Story of Civilization*, p. 402.

they were a people of the solar race and to whom the serpent was sacred¹.

No doubt, throughout India, we find the Nāgas both in literature and art. Literary and archaeological evidences prove their existence even in Magadha.

The earliest reference to the Nāgas of Magadha is found in the *Mahābhārata*. When Kṛṣṇa accompanied by Arjuna and Bhīma, went to the kingdom of Magadha, he described the city as the ancient residence of the Nāgas Arbuda, Śakravāpi (Chakrapāṇi), Swastika and Maṇi².

Though the most ancient Nāgas of Magadha find a place in the *Mahābhārata*, the Buddhist literary works give much more information about them at a later period. Frequent references are found no doubt, in the *Jātakas* like the *Bakabrahma*³ and the *Maṇikanṭha*⁴, about the Nāgas inhabiting the Provinces round about the Ganges⁵; but we also find references to the Nāgas staying in Magadha proper. The *Samkhaṇḍa Jātaka* relates the story of a king Duryodhana of Magadha as born a Nāga⁶. The *Campeyya Jātaka* again tells us that there was in the Champā river (the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha) a Nāga King, who, during a war between the kings of Aṅga and

1 Oldham, *The Sun and The Serpent*, pp 47, 82.

2 *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparbhā, XXI 9 (Kumbhakoṣam Edition).

3 Fausboll, *The Jātakas*, III, p. 361

4 *Ibid.*, II, p. 283.

5 Cf. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 383; *Lalitavistāra*, I, pp. 379 ff.

6 Fausboll, *op. cit.*, V, p. 161.

Magadha, helped the latter in the restoration of his lost kingdom. And for this splendid service of his, the Nāga king received a due tribute from the king of Magadha¹. Buddhaghōṣa, in his commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya, speaks of the existence of a beautiful and extensive Nāga world under the Vebhāra (Vaibhāra) mountain². The famous Muchalinda episode, again, finds a place in several literary works. Muchalinda was a Nāga king residing at Uruvelā in Gayā. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* relates that as the Lord Buddha, after his enlightenment at Uruvelā, was enjoying the bliss of emancipation, under a tree, there started, all of a sudden, an unexpected hailstorm with heavy rains and strong winds. And it was the Nāga king-Muchalinda who protected the Buddha for seven days, from the storm³. Together with the *Mahāvagga*⁴ as seen above, the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*⁵, the *Lalitavistāra*⁶, and the *Mahāvastu*⁷ also speak of this greatness of the Nāga Muchalinda of Uruvelā (Uruvilvā). The Nairāñjanā (modern Nīlājan or Līlājan) river of Uruvelā, again, has been according to the *Mahāvastu*,⁸ frequented by Nāga maidens. The *Divyāvadāna*, while describing the Buddha's journey from Śrāvastī to Rājagriha,

1 *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 454-55.

2 *Saratthapakkāsini*, I, p. 38.

3 *Vinaya Piṭakam*, I, p. 3; Cf. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 128.

4 i, 3, 2.

5 1st Canto, v, 56.

6 I, pp. 379 ff.

7 III, pp. 300 ff.

8 II p. 264.

says that the Buddha crossed the Ganges on the hoods of the Nāgas¹, meaning protected by the Nāgas. On his way from Uruvelā to Benares, the Buddha is said to have been hospitably received by the Nāgarāja Sudarśana, at Gayā². The *Saddharma-piṇḍarīka* informs about the Buddha having been seated in all his glory, on the top of the Vulture peak, in the midst of an incredible multitude of Nāgas³.

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, while speaking about the different *Vāhanas* of the different rivers, ascribes to the river Śoṇa (Son); the Nāga as its *vāhana*⁴. This indicates, very probably, the presence of the Nāgas by the side of the river. Even the mythology of *Panchatantra* hints at the existence of the Nāgas in Rājgriha⁵, the ancient capital of Magadha.

The presence of the Nāgas in ancient Magadha, as described above by the Sanskrit and Pāli literary works, is further corroborated by the accounts of the Chinese travellers. According to Hiuen Tsiang, there was an old tradition, during the time of his visit to Magadha, which said that the monastery of Nālanda took its name from a Nāga called Nālanda who resided in a pool close by⁶. I-tsing also refers to this tradition, but says that the Nāga was called Nanda⁷.

1 pp. 55-56. (Edition Cowell and Neil).

2 *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 324 ff.

3 p. 5. (S. B. E. XXI).

4 "..... शोषाः सर्पगतस्तथा ।" V. 211.

5 Cf. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 174.

6 Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 167.

7 *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* XIII, p. 571.

The above literary evidences about the Nāgas in Māgadha is further corroborated by the archæological finds of the same place. The Maṇiyar Maṭh of Rājgir, first exposed to view in 1905, is really the temple of the Maṇināga the son of Kadru, as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*¹. The many finds, here, of several Nāga images, with a bas-relief containing an inscription mentioning Maṇi-nāga, confirms the identification². At Gayā and Buddhagayā are found images of a female with a crown of coiled snake, conopied by a seven-hooded snake, and of Kulika Nāgarāja, respectively³. At Pāṭaliputra (Patna) is found another head of a Nāgiṇi, in terracotta, belonging probably to the Mauryan period⁴. There is also another image of a Nāga goddess of the seventh century A. D. found at Nālanda⁵. An image depicting the story of the Buddha being protected by the Nāgarāja Muchalinda is also found at Buddhagayā at the Mahant's Maṭh⁶. The images of Balarāma, protected by a Nāga hood, proceeding from Karkihar and Gayā⁷, the image of the Buddha with the Nāga hood found at Nālanda⁸, and the image of the Nāga goddess Mansa of

1 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, XXXV, 6.

2 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 58, p. 34.

3 *Vide*, Sarkar, *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodhgaya*, pp. 50 56.

4 *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1926-27, p. 139 (pl. XXXI, d)

5 *Ibid.*, 1930-34, pl. LXVIII.

6 *Vide*, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 44.

8 *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1919-20, p. 28 (pl. XX, XXI); 1923-24, pl. XXXVI.

of Birbhum¹ are further proofs of the inhabitation of the Nāgas in ancient Magadha and round about it. According to Mr. Paul there are many images of Nāgas and Nāginis, in the Indian Museum, got from Bihar².

But who were these Nāgas? Were they Aryans or Dravidians? How did they get their denomination? These are a few of the questions we shall be explaining at length.

There seems to be a great diversity of opinion about the origin of this tribe.

The cult of the serpent in India is so important that "in no other part of the world is it more widely distributed or developed in more varied and interesting forms"³. Nāga worship, even now, is largely prevalent in Northern India⁴. Remnants of the same are still lingering in the southern parts of the peninsula, rude sculptures being under nearly every large tree⁵.

In the whole of Bihar the worship of Śeṣa Nāga is being celebrated with milk and parched grain. During the months of July and August the female folk decorate or mark their houses with lines of cowdung, with shapes of snakes, and calling themselves Nāginis (female Nāgas), they go about

1 *Ibid.*, 1921-22, pl. XXVIII.

2 *Early History of Bengal*, II, p. 107.

3 *E. R. E.* XI, pp. 411-412.

4 Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore in Northern India*, II pp. 122-24 Wake, *Serpent Worship*, p. 140; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II pp. 102, 145-146; Vogel, *op cit.* pp. 278-279.

5 Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Oldham, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Mazumdar, *History of the Bengali Language*, pp. 40-41.

begging in the villages. During this their period of begging, which is supposed to be two and a half days, they neither sleep under a roof nor eat salt. Strange to say that half the share of the begging is given to the Brāhmaṇas and the rest eaten by all the villagers¹.

Giving an eye to these traditional customs alone, scholars make bold to say that the Nāgas were so denominated on account of their worshipping the snakes².

Unfortunately we have no sufficient archaeological finds in Magadha proper, to prove the origin of the Nāga cult. And so, with the fragmentary collection of the finds of the Nāga-images of Magadha proper, we also consider the representations of the same at other places, to enhance our attempt to trace out the period of the origin of the Nāga-worship.

The Maṇḍiyar Maṭh of Rājgir is no doubt a proof of the existence of serpent-worship at the place. We find a number of clay nāga-figurines and pottery with a number of spouts. These terracotta nāga-images were used as votive objects in those days. But this nāga-worship goes back to the 5th century A. D.³ only.

The Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang,⁴ no doubt, mention the Nāgas many a time

1 Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, pp. 400, 405.

2 Feigussou, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 64; *E. R. E.* XI, p. 414; Gour, *Spirit of Buddhism*, p. 524; Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 75; Wake, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

3 *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1935-36, pp. 53-54; pl. XV, XVI, XVII.

4 Legge *Travels of Fa Hian*, pp. 29, 45 (f.n.), 52, 67, 68, 96; Beal *op. cit.* I, pp. 5 (f. n.), 20, 93, 144, 133.

But nowhere do we find a clear-cut mention about the Nāgas being worshipped as deities though scholars like Oldham¹ and Vogel² suspect accordingly. On the contrary we see the clear mention of the Nāgas either respecting the monks or worshipping the relics of the Buddha³.

At the Amarāvati Stûpa the representations⁴ clearly show that the Nāgas were not being worshipped at all, but on the other hand, they themselves worshipped the Buddha or his relics or the Stûpa. And moreover the representation of a Nāga in the beak of a Garuḍa⁵, as if destroyed by the bird, further corroborates this.

Nowhere, in the representations of the Sāñchi sculptures, do we find a carving about the snake being worshipped. All the representations⁶ are a clear proof that the cult of the nāga did not exist at all during that period. According to Fergusson "the serpent is only once worshipped at Sāñchi"⁷. But he seems to mistake here the representation of the conversion of Kāśyapa⁸, for a scene of the supposed nāga-worship.

The terracotta head of a supposed serpent goddess found at Pātāliputra, belonged to the Maur-

1 *Op. cit.* p. 179.

2 *Op. cit.* p. 283.

3 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93-94; Legge, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

4 *Vide.* Fergusson, *op. cit.* pls. L, LVIII, LXII, LXVII, LXXII, (fig. 2.), LXXVI, XCVIII.

5 *Ibid.* p. 169, pl. LVI (fig. 1).

6 Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, II pls. XI, XII; III, pls. XXXIIa, LXXXIa, CXV, C, CXXVb

7 *O. p. cit.* pp. 143-44, 125, pl. XXXII.

8 *J. R. A. S.* (n. s.) V pp. 177 ff

yan period ¹. Another image of a Nāga goddess, found at Nālanda is said to have belonged to the 7th century of our era ².

The earliest Nāgas of India are found on one of the seals of Mohenjo Daro ³. Other earliest Nāga terracotta figurines are found at Buxar ⁴.

On the Mohenjo Daro seal, as can clearly be seen, is a representation of God in the centre, on each of whose sides is a devotee. And behind those devotees are the hooded nāgas represented ⁵.

This representation of the Nāgas clearly shows that they were not worshipped, but themselves worshipped some supreme deity. And this representation seems to prove that there was no Nāga-worship in the very early period of Indian History. Fergusson ⁶ and Sir Charles Elliot ⁷ mention nāga-worship as existing in the pre-Āryan period. But they do not give proofs to justify their statements. This pre-Āryan cult of snake-worship can even be denied on philological grounds. The word, Nāga' being purely a Sanskrit

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1926-27, p. 139, pl. XXXI.

2. *Ibid.* 1930-34, pl. LXVIII.

3. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, pls. CXVI, CXVIII.

4. *Vide* Dr. Banerji Sastri "Remains of a Prehistoric Civilisation in the Gangetic Valley," *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 248-61.

5. In an early Babylonian cylinder, also, the nāgas are depicted, not as being worshipped, *vide* Fergusson, *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 114; *History of Indian Architecture*, I, p. 43.

7. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 103.

or Āryan word, cannot be said to have been in existence before the immigration of the Aryans in India¹, though the tribe itself existed. The tribe must have been known by a different denomination². We thus see that though the Nāgas did exist even in very early times, still serpent worship as such did not exist at that time. And thus the conclusion arrived at by some scholars, that the worship of the snake has given the name 'Naga' to the worshippers, seems unwarranted³.

The representation of a nāga terracotta figurine found at Buxar, shows a clear artistic development of the people. There the Nāga is represented as being hooded by a five headed serpent. This Buxar find kept at the Patna Museum does away with the statement of the French author Boulnois who says that the earliest many headed Nāga is that of Sānchi⁴.

This artistically developed way of representing a Nāga, is being carried on even as late as the

1 Srinivasachari, "The Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas," *J. H. Q.* III, p. 520.

2 'Nāga in Dravidian language is known as 'Pām̃bu' or 'pāvu'. Probably the name 'Pāva' mentioned as one of the cities of Northern India, and the capital of the Mallas, at the time of the Buddha (Pārāyanavagga, *Sutta Nipāta*, (S. B. E.) X, p. 180); (*Mahāvamsa*, IV, 17-19), had retained the older name of the tribe inhabiting it, namely the nāgas. It is quite possible that as the name 'Mnas' was changed to 'Matsyas', the 'Kudagas' to 'Vānaras' (Heras, "Mohenjo Daro, The People and the Land," *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 708, 715); so also, the 'Pāvas' (meaning the snakes) was changed to the 'Nāgas', later on, by the Āryans.

3 cf. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.* p. 520.

4 Le Caducee et la symbolique dravidienne indo-mediterraneenne de l'arbre, de la pierre, du serpent et de la deesse-mere, avec 12 figures dans la tente, p. 33 (Paris 1939).

present times. The representations at Barhut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchi, Āmārāvati and Ajanṭā are a few of the innumerable examples. The late Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, in a well-written paper of the 7th All-India Oriental Conference, explains this development, and goes on further to say that the mermaid type of Nāga is later in Indian Art¹.

We have already seen that the serpent-worship did not exist during the Mohenjo Daro period. Nor does the five-headed nāga of Buxar prove in the least, the worship of the Nāga. Even the representations of the Sāñchi Stūpa do not suggest, as we have already seen, the existence of the nāga cult during that period. On the contrary we clearly see the relics of the Buddha being worshipped by men and women having nāga hoods. The Mañiyar Math of Rājagir is a definite proof of a fully developed nāga cult, during the 7th century of our era. Going back a few centuries, we find that at Āmārāvati Stūpa (2nd—4th century A. D.), among the many representations, there is only a single carving depicting the Nāga being worshipped as a deity. Considering these different stages in the prominence of the Nāga, we think that the cult of the serpent as such, must have come into existence somewhere about the latter half of the first century of our era². And as such we think it absurd to maintain that Buddhism arose out of Nāga-worship, as Fergusson³ thinks.

¹ "Serpent Worship in Ancient India", pp. 312-13.

² of. Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 114.

³ *Ibid.* p. 70.

While replying to the question "Were the Nāgas, Aryans or non-Āryans?" we do not wish to go into details to repeat the views of the many learned scholars who unanimously hold that they (the Nāgas) were a Dravidian people inhabiting the northern part of India before the immigration of the Āryans to India¹. But we take this opportunity to state that the Nāgas were not a non-Aryan people just because of their worshipping the snake, but they were a Dravidian tribe, whether they worshipped the animal or not.

Most of Northern India, including Magadha, was being inhabited by the Nāgas². The R̥gveda finds a place for Vṛtra and Tugra³. The Mahābhārata is full with the description of the exploits of many Nāga kings. The great epic opens with the historical persecution of the Nāgas under king Takshaka residing in the great Khāṇḍavaforest in the valley of the Jumna near Indra-

1 Oldham, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 36, 44, 160-161, 165; Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 96. Fr. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro the People and the land," *Indian Culture*, III, p. 719; Srinivasachari, *op. cit.* p. 520; Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81, 373; Hewitt, "The Notes on the History of Northern India," *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 218; Wheeler, *History of India*, I, pp. 117, 411; II, p. 630; Slater, *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, p. 56; Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Ghosh, "An Introduction to the Study of Antiquities found at the Pāṭaliputra Excavation," *The 8th All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 627; Banerji, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 83; Ayyar, "The Ancient History of Magadha," *Indian Antiquary*, XLV, p. 10; Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 77; Fausboll, *Indian Mythology*, p. 1;

2 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, III, 136; Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 55; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 20, 144; Oldham, "The Nāgas," *J. R. A. S.* 1901, pp. 461-73.

3 I, 33, 15; vi, 20, 8; vii, 18, x, 49, 4.

prastha or old Delhi.¹ In fact there were several very powerful kings of the Nāga tribe, the best known being Śeṣa or Ananta, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Karkotaka, Kāsyapa, Airāvata, Kauravya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, all born of Kadru². Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the foremost of all the Nāgas,³ alone had twenty-eight thousand Nāgas as his followers⁴. References do not lack even in the Jātakas to prove the existence of the Nāgas in North India⁵. The great kings of the Ikshvāku dynasty were the ancient Nāgas of Pāṭaliputra⁶. The Bharatas were also included among the snake races⁷. The great king Yayāti, father of the equally great king Puru, was the son of the Nāga Nahusa and the maternal grandfather of Aṣṭaka⁸. The five Pāṇḍava brothers were the grandsons of the grandson of the Nāga named Āryaka (Arka)⁹. There is no wonder then that Arjuna should marry the Nāga princess Ulupi¹⁰. The Yādavas were also Nāgas. Not only was Kuntī, the mother of the five Pāṇḍava heroes, the

1 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, LII—LVIII.

2 *Ibid.*, Ādi Parva, XXXV, 5—16; LXVII, 75; LXVI, 40—41;

3 *Ibid.*, Virāṭa Parva, III, 30; Hewitt, (*op. cit.*, pp. 291-292) mistakes this Nāga Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the brother of Paṇḍu. He even goes to the extent of committing a double mistake by calling Jarāsandha of Magadha as the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

4 *Ibid.*, Ādi Parva, III, 137-38.

5 Fausboll, *op. cit.* VI (Bhṛidatta Jataka), p. 158.

6 Hewitt, *History and Chronology of the Mythmaking Age*, p. 362.

7 Hewitt, *J. R. A. S.* 1889, p. 290.

8 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, LXXXVII, 42, 44; Udyoga Parva, XVII, 17, 23.

9 *Ibid.*, Ādi Parva, CXXXVIII, 34-35;

10 *Ibid.*, Ādi Parva, CCXXXIV, 13-32.

paternal aunt of Kṛṣṇa¹, but even the latter was a direct descendant of the Nāga chief Āryaka (Arika), who was the great-grandfather of Vasudeva, the father of the Yādava king². Even his elder brother Baladeva is represented as having his head covered with many huge snakes³, which is rightly said to be the canopy to distinguish great Nāga rājahs⁴. Baladeva is said to be a portion of the Nāga Śeṣa⁵, which means that either he was a relative of the great Śeṣa Nāga or that he was as powerful as the great Nāga king named Śeṣa. And as Kaṁsa, the maternal uncle of these two Nāga heroes of the Yādava clan, was the son-in-law of the Bārhadratha King Jarāsandha of Magadha⁶, we see that even Magadha had Nāgas as her rulers in her ancient dynasty, namely the Bārhadrathas.

According to the Purāṇas the Bārhadrathas of Magadha were succeeded by the Pradyotas, who in turn, were followed by the Śiśunāgas⁷. And so many authors have rightly said that in the Śiśunāgas, Magadha had a Nāga dynasty to rule

¹ *Ibid.* Udyoga Parva, CXXXI, 50; CXL, 10; XC, 1,90.

² *Ibid.* Ādi Parva, CXXXVIII, 34-35; cf. Slater, *op. cit.* p. 55; Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 95; Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 78.

³ *Ibid.* Anushāsana Parva, CCLI, 56.

⁴ Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 79.

⁵ *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, LXVIII, 152; Anushāsana Parva, CCLI, 59.

⁶ *Ibid.* Sabhā Parva, XIV, 31-32, 49.

⁷ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 286.

over her¹. The word Śiśunāga² itself is very significant. After the fall of the Bārhadratha dynasty, which was a Nāga dynasty, as we have already seen, there came into power another dynasty known as the Pradyota dynasty. But this dynasty, which was absolutely different than its preceding Nāga dynasty, was again defeated by the Śiśunāga dynasty, which, as its name shows, was a nāga dynasty. Thus we see here the Nāgas coming to power once more, after a short break during the period of the Pradyotas. These Śiśunāgas were the followers of the earlier Nāgas of the Bārhadratha dynasty. And so after their coming to power once more, they were known as Śiśunāgas or 'Junior' (शिशु) Nāgas being the followers of the earlier senior nāgas *vis.* the Bārhadrathas. The Buddhist tradition about the origin of Śiśunāga, the founder or rather the restorer of the Śiśunāgas, as being protected by a Nāga³, is another proof that he was a nāga². It

1 Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 60; Banerji Sastri, "The Nāgas" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p. 347; Hewitt, *op. cit.* 1888, pp. 354, 362; Hewitt, *History and Chronology of the Mythmaking Age*, p. 590; Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 66; Wake, *op. cit.* p. 141.

2 Bigandet, *Legend of Gaudama*, II, p. 115; Turnour's Introduction to the Mahāvamsa, p. XXXVII.

3 According to the Buddhist legend a courtesan bore a child to a Licchchavi king; but the child proved an abortion and so being put into a basket was thrown on a dungheap. A Nāgaraja, the tutelary of the city, encircled it with its folds and sheltered it with its hood. The people made a noise "Su, Su" to frighten and drive away the snake. They found, afterwards, in the basket, the abortion, matured into a male child which was named, for the above incident, Su-su-nāga (Śiśunāga). Some scholars (Srinivaschari and Aiyangar, *History of India*, I, p. 51), though proving

can also be explained that when the last Pradyota king was being dethroned, many even opposed the coronation of the Nāga king, and so their words "Su—Su," in the story, to drive him away being disliked.

Even Chandragupta the Maurya is said to have belonged to the Nāga race¹. And the people with whom Alexander first came into contact, after crossing the Indus, were the nāgas².

According to the Purāṇas, king Bimbisāra of Magadha was the great-great-grandson of Śiśunāga³. And it was during his reign that the Buddha preached and propagated his faith. By this time Magadha was already influenced by Āryan culture; and Buddhism was a revolution against this Āryanism. The Śiśunāgas, according to the Purāṇas were "degenerate Kshatriyas"⁴. This was due to the hatred of the Brahmins towards the non-Āryan nāga people of Magadha. The changing of the origin of the name Nālanda as derived from a Nāga of the same name, to that as *na+alam+da*, applied to a king for his "charity without intermission,"⁵ seems to be another proof of the Āryan intentions to do away with the old traditions of the Dravidian people. And probably it is for this hatred and

the Nāga element of the Śiśunāgas, wrongly explain it by holding that Śiśunāga meant Sesh-naga.

¹ Hewitt, *J. R. A. S.* 1890, p. 432.

² Oldham, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 21.

⁴ Jayaswal, "The Śiśunāga and Maurya Chronology" *J. B. O. R. S.*, I, p. 114 (f. n.)

⁵ Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 167.

persecution that we hear the following words of a Nāga : "so wretched is the state of a Nāga that we deem it impossible to attain to a good birth..."¹. The stories of Pūrṇabhadra's Panchatantra and Kathāsaritsāgara, regarding marriages between the Nāgas and the Brahmins², are a proof of the contact between the peoples of both races. With all this, it would not be out of place for the Buddha to revolt against Brahmanism. Buddha was one of those people who were being invited into the Āryan fold, day by day. He revolted, being a patriot of his race. He was a great man of the Nāgas. Accordingly the Pārāyaṇavagga of the *Sutta Nipāta* refers to him as a Nāga³. Some scholars, thus, are perfectly right in stating that the Buddha was of a Nāga lineage⁴. He was naturally on friendly terms with the Nāga people who played such a prominent part in the legends relating to the life of the Buddha. Even, at his death, Nāga kings are said to have claimed a share of his relics, and built 'stūpas' over them⁵. And as shown on the Sāñchi and Ama-āvatī stūpas, it is not surprising that Budha's teachings should be accepted by the Nāgas⁶ belonging to his own

1 *Divyāvadāna*, XXIV, p. 345 (ed. Cowell and Neil)

"तादृशः सुदुष्टनागो यद् वयं सुगतिगमनं अपि न संभावयामः ।

2 *vide*. Vogel, *op. cit.* pp. 174—176.

3 *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 203 (Pali Text Society)

तं तं नमस्सामि समेष नाग ।

4 Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 181 ; Wake, *op. cit.* pp. 92, 141.

5 *Mahā Parinibbāna Suttānta*, VI, 28 ; Beal, *op. cit.* II, p. 41.

6 Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 61.

non-Āryan stock¹. The representation of the Buddha with a hooded Nāga only means that he was a great and respectable personality of the Nāga people, similar to Balarāma, as we have already seen. Even as regards Jainism the Nāga is almost always found in Jaina temples as an object of worship, but definitely subordinate to the Tīrthaṅkara to whom the temple is dedicated². Supārśva, the seventh and Pārśva the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, were also, as can be seen from their representations with hooded Nāgas, belonging to the tribe of the nāgas. Great as they were they were always represented with the canopy of the many hooded nāgas, like the Buddha and Balarāma.

The population of Magadha and its neighbourhood, where the Buddha spent the greater part of his life, was then, in earlier times, and in later times, largely made up of Nāga tribes³. And it was owing to the Āryan migration that they were forced to expand into the Deccan, South India, and Ceylon⁴. The downfall of the Nāgas was, it seems quite natural, due to the downfall of Buddhism. It was the inducement, or compelling of the Āryans to the non-Āryan Buddhists for the latter's adoption to Hinduism, that probably led to

1 According to Menon, it was the top-knot of the Buddhists which represented the hood of the Nāga : *Dravidian Culture and its Diffusion*, p. 82.

2 Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 70.

3 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, III, 136 ; cf. Oldham *op. cit.* p. 145 ; Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 165-66.

4 Srinivasachari, "The Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 520.

the fatal downfall of the Nāgas from history of North India¹.

If the Nāgas did not get their denomination from nāga-worship, what was the origin of their name, and what was their cult like?

Even at present, in spite of their not worshipping the Nāgas, there are, in the immediate neighbourhood of Manipur, in Assam, numerous tribes of aboriginal people, called Nāgas². The Rājas of Manipur are said to have descended from the Nāgas³.

The derivation of the name of the Nāgas is due to the fact that they had the serpent (nāga) as their national or racial or tribal emblem or *lāñchana*⁴. At present the serpent-gods are worshipped in Northern India, "not as dangerous reptiles", or "as mere symbols, but as the deified rulers of an ancient people"⁵. Through a *lāñchana* one "feels that he is in intimate though mysterious association with the whole species"⁶ of that parti-

1 Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 147; Menon, *op. cit.* pp. 88-89. Mr. Menon is of the opinion that the Nāgas "in common with many of the Buddhists in India became merged with the Ceras and were gradually absorbed in the Hindu fold".

2 *Vide*, Fergusson, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 192.

3 Hudson, "The native tribes of Manipur", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXX, pp. 302-304; Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 61.

4 Mazumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 32, 39; Dikshitar, *op. cit.* p. 248; W. Croke, *op. cit.* II, p. 148; Atkinson, *op. cit.* 1884, pp. 373-74; Oldham, *op. cit.* pp. 30, 184, 206; Will Durant, *Story of Civilization*, p. 402; Wheeler, *History of India*, I, pp. 146-47.

5 Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 85; Wake, *op. cit.* pp. 96, 97, 272, 275.

6 Sir John Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 199.

cular symbol. "The ancestral character of the totem accounts for the association with it of the ideas of protection, which is based on the existence of a fraternal relationship between the totem and all the individuals belonging to a particular group of kin. The totem as a badge or symbol, therefore represents the group of individuals, dead or alive, towards whom a man stands in a fraternal relation, and the protection of whom he is therefore entitled to, so long as he performs all the obligations on his part which flow from the existence of that relationship"¹.

Amongst the non-Āryan Nāgas "were included various tribes and that these were distinguished by different totems or sub-totems. But the Nāga was common to all..."². And in *Lāñchanism* lies the fundamental idea of a 'badge of fraternity' or a 'symbol of gens'. And so a person would look on the *lāñchana* "first with interest, then with respect, and at length with a sort of awe"³. And accordingly in course of time, these Nāga-people "became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity and emblem of the Nāgas and the Nāgas themselves"⁴.

The Buddha, Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha belonged to the Nāga race, as we have already seen.

1 Wake, *op. cit.* p. 275.

2 Oldham, *op. cit.* pp. 47, 48; In the above two quotations, it would have been more proper to use the word *lāñchana* instead of 'totem', for, as seen above, the ancient Nāgas never worshipped their tribal symbol. *Totemism* is different from *lāñchanism*.

3 Wake, *op. cit.* p. 264.

4 Wheeler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 146-47.

It is probably for this reason, that later on, serpent worship was associated with Buddhism and Jainism¹.

The common representation of a hooded nāga sheltering the *Linga* is merely an artistic way to show that the people who had a nāga for their *lāñchana*, were phallic worshippers². Fergusson's explaining the *Linga* with a Nāga-hood as a new faith being given more prominence than the old one, namely, the *Linga*-worship given more importance than Serpent-worship³, seems absurd because Serpent-worship as such came into existence much later than the *Linga*-worship.

The Nāgas being a Śaiva sect⁴, can be seen from earlier literature also. According to the Mahābhārata, Jarāsandha the king of Magadha, and a Nāga as we have already seen, was a great worshipper of Śiva⁵. Even the earliest representation of the Nāgas as shown in one of the seals of Mohenjo Daro⁶, clearly shows that they were worshipping (and not being worshipped) a supreme deity Āṇ,

1 Wake, *op. cit.* pp. 3, 82, 140; Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 172; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 44.

2 Menon, *op. cit.* pp. 77, 79; According to Wake, the *Lingam* was an emblem of the Buddha: *Serpent worship* p. 73.

3 Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 70.

4 Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 44; Hewitt, *op. cit.* 1890, p. 424.

5 Sabhaparva, XIV, 74; XV, 24; XIX, 15; XXII, 9. Even during the reign of Gapapati Nāga, Śiva was considered as the '*iṣṭa-devatā*' of the Nāgas. Jayaswal, 'India under the Naga Dynasty', *J. B. O. R. S.* XIX, p. 38.

6 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilization* II, p. 395, III, pl. CXVI (29).

the prototype of Śiva¹. And modern serpent worship is nothing but the deification of the *Lāñchana* which was an outcome of the corruption of the earlier worship of a supreme deity².

The Nāgas, with whom the Āryans came into contact, on approaching the borders of India, were no savage aboriginal tribes, but a civilized people with cities and kingdoms³. Their resplendent cities Bhogavati and Champāvati are very often mentioned in early literature. That the Nāgas, possessed an immense wealth can be found from different stories of the Jātakas⁴ and the *Rājataran-giṇī*⁵. Together with their being very rich in wealth, they were rich in culture also. Udayana of Vatsa is said to have got a magic lute from a Nāga⁶ the former having released the latter from a hunter (Śavara)⁶. This shows the proficiency of the Nāgas in music. The *Kharaputta Jātaka* refers also to a Nāga king knowing charms⁷.

1 Heras "The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians", *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, 1938, p. 234; "The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the inscriptions", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 7; According to Oldham, the Naga people worshipped the Sun (*The Sun and the Serpent*, pp. 48, 172). But the Sun is the same supreme being An of the Mohenjo Daro people (Heras, "Religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the inscriptions," *op. cit.* V, pp. 7-9, 12, 13.

2 Oldham *op. cit.* p. 206.

3 *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, III, 133; Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 5 (f. n.).

4 Fausboll, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 350-54; pp. 454 ff; II, p. 283; I, p. 325.

5 IV, pp. 592-617;

6 *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kathāmukha Lambaka, 1st Taranga, Vs. 80-81.

7 Fausboll, *op. cit.* III, p. 275.

According to Aśokavadāna, Aśoka was very naughty in his early youth. So his father Bindusāra sent him to Pingala Nāga, to get a good education¹. This definitely shows the high culture of the Nāgas. The Chinese traveller mentions a Nāga-palace as containing a number of books². The maidens of the Nāga tribe were famous for their beauty³, and not a few of the Epic heroes have taken them for their wives.

Not only were the Nāgas a civilized people, but they were a great maritime race, since very early times⁴. The civilization of Burmah and some Chinese countries is ascribed to the Nāga people of Magadha⁵. They seem to have had a very early trade with the Persian Gulf also⁶. The Buddhist literature speaks of the Nāgas of the Sea and the Nāgas of the mountains⁷.

'The Nāgas were the standard-bearers of Asura supremacy in India'⁸. They were "the spearhead and backbone" of the non-Āryans⁹. And naturally "with the downfall of the Nāgas ended organised Asura supremacy in India"¹⁰.

1 Sastri, *Magadhan Literature*, p. 36.

2 Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 5 (f. n.).

3 Dikshitar, *op. cit.* p. 249.

4 *Ibid.* p. 249; Menon, *op. cit.* p. 79; Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 58; Legge, *Travels of Fa Hian*, p. 101.

5 Oldham, *op. cit.* p. 166.

6 *Ibid.* p. 59.

7 Bharidatta Jātaka, Fausboll, *op. cit.* VI, pp. 158, 194; *Mahāvagga*, I, 48-60.

8 Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 97.

9 *Ibid.* p. 96.

10 *Ibid.* p. 96; "The Rgvedic Asura began as Amṛita, his epic descendant the Naga ended as poison", p. 97 (f. n.).

Whilst the Nāgas as a people have almost disappeared from the Indian soil, the worship of seerpnts is still to be found deeply rooted in the mind of the Hindu, especially the Dravidian.



Miscellaneous Articles

A CHAPTER FROM GOLCONDA HISTORY

By K. K. BASU

Most of the Qutb Shāhi rulers were lettered and thoroughly alive to the interests of scholarship. Like the Sultans of the Ādil Shāhi House of Bijāpur and the Nizam Shāhis of Ahmadnagar, and quite in keeping with the spirit of the times, the rulers of Golconda patronised scholars and set an example of application to the march intellect. The noble ancestry and Persian nativity of the Qutb Shāhis¹ were convincing guarantees of their accomplishment and fine taste.

Subhān Quli (r. 1512—1543 A. D.) who declared the political independence of Golconda was the progenitor of the Qutb Shāhi line in southern India. He never seized any territory from the Bahmanis but remained content with whatever he had received from his royal patrons making accretions by wresting lands from the Hindu rulers. In course of time he flung himself upon the whole land from Warrangal to Masulipattam and Rajmahendri and took some sixty or

¹ MS. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript) folio 173.

MS. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript) folio 54.

Hadiqat-ul-Alam, vol. 1, page 9.

seventy big and strong forts that lay in that region.¹ Subhān had the satisfaction of knowing that the sun of the Qutb Shāhis had risen, and his reign is regarded as being neither one of barren glory nor of unsubstantial gains. His conquests increased the limits of Golconda, established its power and increased its dignity.

The Muslim chroniclers, however, do not mention Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-mulk's (the title adopted by Subhān after his accession) literary attainments. Unlike his successors Sultan Quli Qutb had very little share in advancing the cause of literature. Nevertheless, he was not illiterate. While serving as a *Sipah-Salar* under Sultan Mahmūd Bahmanī he was addressed in the royal firmans as *Sahib us Saif wal qalam* or the master of the sword and the pen.²

The parricide king Jamshid (r. 1543—1550) succeeded his father Quli Qutb, and the years of his reign serve to illustrate his ideas. The unknown author of *Tārīkh-i-Muh. Qutb Shāhi* writes³ that the Sultan was accomplished; he had a great liking for poetry and had to his credit self-composed metrical verses. In literary attainments Jamshid went a step beyond his predecessor; and he set the feet of his successors on the road.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, son of Quli Qutb-ul-mulk succeeded his brother Jamshid in the year

¹ MS. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi* folio 82.

² *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, vol. i., p. 11.

³ MS. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi* folio 207.

1550 A. D.¹ and ruled for about thirty years.² A ruler of enlightened ideas and artistic temperament, Ibrāhim exerted a decisive influence in the sphere of education and culture. His age had witnessed a marked development of education that was stimulated by royal appreciation and patronage. Scholars and students were provided by the state with free meals and given, in addition, a stipend of one *fulus* per head.³ The magnificent royal palace inside the fort of Golconda provided accommodations to the big-wigs, printers, painters, book-binders and writers.⁴ The Bijāpuri envoy Rafī-ud-dīn who happened to visit the royal court of Golconda observes in his *Tazkirāt-ul-Muluk* how a large number of scholars and writers were found engaged in studying and writing histories, daily occurrence of the court and the country, stories and other miscellaneous subjects. There were ulemas and scholars who were found deeply engaged in academical discussions and literary debates.⁵

The royal princes were accomplished and cultured. Mirzā Husain Qulī, the second prince, who died of accident in the flower of youth, was well-versed in logic and the sciences. The fourth prince Mirza Abdul Fatah, who also died just reaching the threshold of manhood, was proficient

¹ *Ibid* folio 225. Date of accession given as 12 Rajab 957 H.

² MS. *Tazkirāt-ul-Muluk*, folio 189.

³ *Ibid* folio 189.

⁴ 192.

⁵ *Tazkirāt-ul-Muluk*, folio 192.

in *Ilm-i-Qirrat*¹ (pronunciation, a proper manner of reading the Qurān).

In the words of the author of *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi* the capital city Golconda developed into a big town having a mixed population of natives and foreigners, of scholars and artists and of merchants and men of various other professions.² The Sultan took particular care of his subjects and kept them above all wants.

Abul Fateh Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh (r. 1580—1612) the successor of Ibrāhim, displayed on his accession to the throne a taste for scholarship by giving handsome rewards to men of literary fame.³ Intelligent and learned, pure in character and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Quli kept company with the learned.⁴ The officials of the court were all highly educated. A quarter dozen of ulemas danced attendance on him and under royal orders imparted education to the people of the city.⁵ The newly laid royal city named Hyderābād contained a number of *khankas* and madrasas.⁶ It is related, that out of four lacs of huns secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and ulemas⁷ and supplying them with two free meals per day.⁸

1 *Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi*, folio 392.

2 *Ibid* folios 395, 396.

3 *Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi*, folio 397.

4 *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, folio 194.

5 *Ibid*.

6 *Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi*, folio 427.

7 *Ibid* folio 429.

8 *Ibid* folio 435.

Muhammad Qutb Shāh had received proper training in his young age. He was taught the Qur'ān by Qazi Muhammad Samnāni and the military science and archery by Chand Miyān Yūsuf.¹ The Sultan possessed a keen wit and he loved the association of men of letters. He had made his mark as a master of arts and sciences, and a writer of prose and verse. His pen-name was *Zil-ul-lāh*² (the shadow of God).

Every morning the Sultan read one juz (or book) of the Qur'ān (consisting of 30 juz or books), so that, he completed the reading of the whole Qur'ān in one month.³ Sultan Muhammad also excelled in the art of letter writing. The marginal notes that he left on whatever books of prose and poetry that he read shows his vast erudition and power of excellent composition.⁴ He wrote several *ghazal*, *rubaiye*, and *tarkib band*⁵ (a species of poetry).

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi*, who wrote his book at the instance of the Sultan, closes his writing in the fifth regnal year of Muh. Qutb Shāh. The concluding portions of his book deal with quotations from the Sultan's verses relating to the praise of God, the Prophet and 'Alī', the fourteen Imams and condolence on

1 *Tārīkh-i Muh. Qutb Shāhi*, folio 540.

2 *Ibid* folio 572.

3 Ms. *Hadiqat-us-Salatīn*, Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript folio 64.

4 *Hadiqat-us-Salatīn*, folio 65.

5 *Hadiqat-us-Salatīn*, folio 65.

the death of Imām Hussain.¹ The poems evince a poetic inspiration, a keen sense of versification and a religious fervour on the part of their author.

Abdulla Mirzā or Abdulla Qutb Shāh (r. 1618—1626 A. D.) who succeeded his father Muhammad Qutb received while young proper training under best tutors. Mir Qutb-ud-dīn Niyāmat-ul-lāh, called the "*Umda Naqba*" (prince or leader) among the Saiyids and connected with the royal family at Persia was Abdulla Qutb's first guardian tutor.² Qutb-ud-dīn was appointed *Ra'is jumlat ul Mulk* and he kept the young Abdulla in his house.³ When the prince reached the age of five, Qutb-ud-dīn died and the boy was placed under the care of Mirzā Sharif Shahristāni, the son-in-law of the deceased Qutb-uddin and a noble of the court.⁴ For three years the prince remained under the guardianship of Mirzā Sharif and on the death of the latter the boy was placed under the surveillance of *Munshi-ul-Mamālik* Khvaja Muzaffar 'Alī'.⁵

A beautifully decorated mansion was erected for the prince near the residence of the new tutor. For the training of the prince in the Qur'ān and theology, Moulana Hussain Shirāzi, the royal librarian was appointed as the *muallim* or precep-

1 Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi folios 573 etseq.

2 Hadiqat-us-Salatin, folio 21.

3 Hadiqat-us-Salatin, folio 22.

4 *Ibid* folio 24.

5 *Ibid* folio 26.

tor.¹ Further, Malik Yūsuf and some other nobles were engaged in teaching the boy riding and hunting.² A few³ horses, elephants, some *charg* and *ḍāḥ* (that is hawks and falcons) and few *qushchī* (falconer) were placed at the disposal of the prince for the purpose.³

The protector had grown old by the time the prince reached the age of twelve. It was for this reason and also on account of the fact that the Sultan could no longer bear the pangs of separation from his son that Prince Abdullā was removed from the tutelage of Khvaja Muzaffar Alī and taken to the royal harem.

For the princas' reception gold embroidered velvets were spread on the road that the prince and his retinue had to pass through.⁴ After the private meeting of the father and son,⁵ the latter was taken to the hall of the public audience⁶ where the public offered him presentations in cash and kind. The poets of the court composed odes commemorating the occasion and were suitably rewarded for their labours. Prisoners were liberated⁷ and charities and gifts bestowed on Saiyids, teachers and students.⁸

On the death of Muhammad Qutb Shāh, prince Abdulla was raised to the throne at the age of

1 *Ibid* folio 28.

2 *Ibid* folio 29.

3 *Ibid* folio 30.

4 *Ibid* folio 39.

5 *Ibid* folio 40.

6 *Ibid* folio 43.

7 *Ibid* folio 39.

8 *Hadiqat-us-Salatir*, folio 43.

eleven years and five months.¹ His accession was signalised by offerings and gifts to poets, nobles and the public. In culture the young Sultan was at once a product and a specimen of the intellectual tendencies of his age. He extended his patronage to men of merit no matter to what region or country he belonged. The court of the young Sultan, thus, contained a galaxy of intellectuals in spheres of politics and literature.

Allāmi Fahāmi Sheikh Muhammad *alias* Ibn Khātun, who had been sent to Persia as an envoy during the late reign, was appointed on his return from the mission in the first regnal year of Abdulla Qutb, the Assistant Peshwa and Dabir of the court.² Capable of a vast deal of hard work and skilfully mingling war and diplomacy, Sheikh Muhammad rose to the office of Peshwa³ and Mir Jumla.⁴ With leanings for learning, the Mir Jumla held discussions with poets and orators on holidays⁵ and taught the students at the madrassas. Works on Arabic, such as, Diwan-i-Mutanabbi, Diwan-i-Khakani and Anwari, and the masnavi of Mulla Rumi were constantly read at the literary society of Sheikh Muhammad and debates held on the philosophies that those works contained.⁶

1 *Ibid* folio 69. Hadiqat-ul-Alam, vol. 1, p. 301.

2 Hadiqat-us-Salatin, folio 83.

3 *Ibid* folio 189.

4 *Ibid* folio 355.

5 *Ibid* folio 362.

6 *Ibid*.

The Mir Jumla was potent enough to bring to the court a literary circle and group of officials who formed a rare combination of the idealist and the practical man of affairs and their basic loyalty to the crown and the country constituted the very corner stone of Qutb Shāhi monarchy.

Among the persons who had acquired a commanding position in literary affairs and those that participated actively in literary coterie of Sheikh Muhammad, the Mir Jumla, were:—

1. Mirza Qāsim Khorāsānī, who was originally a Mughal mansabdar but later had resorted to Golconda where he received awards in cash and kind. It is said that Sultan Abdulla Qutb had fixed for Qāsim an annual salary of 3000 hunns and bestowed on him many villages.¹

2. Hakim Nizāmuddin Ahmad Gilānī, who was at first in the service of Mahabat Khan, the Mughal general.²

3. Miran Miran, the son of Qāzi Zahir-ud-din Muhammad-ul Husaini Al Hanafi who was well-versed in the arts and sciences. Miran was appointed as the Dabir (writer or secretary) of the court.³

4. Hakim Abdul Jabbār Gilānī who held the office of Rauza-i Kham, that is, the priest who reads the achievements of Imām Husain on the 10th Muharram.⁴ He was promoted to the office

1 Hadiqat-us-Salatin, folio 394.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid* folio 395.

4 *Ibid* folio 396.

of Munshi-ul Mamalik and later made the Dabir in the 16th regnal year of the Sultan (1640).¹

5. Muhammad Sāleh Beg Astrābādi, the Sar-i-naubat (commander-in-chief) of the army.

6, 7, 8. Ali Akbar Dakhini, Saiyid Tahir Dakhini and Karim Khān Lāri.²

9. Mir Muh. Saiyid, who began as *Sar-i-daftar* of the court and rose to the office of havildar of Murtazanagar and Masulipattam and later to the post of *Sar-i-Khail* (or the master of the Horse).³ His rise to power was meteoric, and his position and dignity unique. He obtained from the Sultan an ornamented ink-pot and a pargana that yielded a revenue of 30,000 huns in present. He was permitted to keep a number of stalwart Arab, Khorāssāni and Irāqi retainers who accompanied him whenever he went out of his house to the court.⁴

10. Mulla Wais, the *Munshi-ul-Mamalik* who was entrusted with the work of writing firmans, and later made *Sar-i-Khail*. The Mulla was known by the name of *Haft Qalam* because he had command over seven kinds of calligraphy.⁵ He became a royal favourite and was conferred with the Vizirate of 4 lacs of huns. He was favoured with unusual privileges, such as, beating the naqqara (a royal prerogative), having a gold

1 *Ibid* folios 591 and 594.

2 *Ibid*.

3 *Ibid* folios 446 and 447.

4 *Ibid* folio 450.

5 Hadiqat-us-Salatin, folio 500.

flag, elephants and horses.¹ Unfortunately these prerogatives turned the head of its recipient and made him proud as Lucifer. He was found to be in intrigue with Bijapur² against his benign master, for which, he was at first pardoned but later, on account of his persistence in political intrigue was flogged and exiled to Bandar Abbas.³

Among the litterateurs and poets of the court who deserve special mention are:—

1, 2. Maulana Raunaki and Kaisar-i-Maddah.⁴

3. Mulla Khalfi Sostari.⁵ He was in charge of the medical college during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh. Sultan Abdulla included him among his body of close associates. The Mulla was adept in Mathematics and other arts and sciences. He was proficient in Ilm Zafar (or the art of making amulets) and 'Ilm-i-I'adād (or numbering) and was a facile writer of qasidah, ghazal, Qata, rubaiye and masnavi. He has been highly spoken of by Allami Fahami Sheikh Muhammad in his valuable work entitled Tazkara A'ayān. The Mulla died in the 13th regnal year of Abdulla Qutb (1047 H. or 1637 A. D.)

4. Mir Saiyid Muhammad Asfarāni. He was originally employed in the Mughal court at Agra, but later he migrated to Golconda in the fourth regnal year (1038 H.) of Sultan Abdulla

1 *Ibid.*, folio 601.

2 *Ibid.*, folio 604.

3 *Ibid.*, folios 609 and 610.

4 *Ibid.*, folio 75.

5 *Ibid.*, folio 493 etseq.

Qutb. The Sultan showed him special favour and made him reside near the royal court. The fame of Mir Saiyid reached distant lands, and in recognition of his merit the Shah of Persia sent him presents consisting of robes of honour and valuable horses.² Charitable and magnanimous, Mir Saiyid spent the last farthing of his princely income in gifts. He passed away on the 18th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1047 H. corresponding to 31st July 1637 A. D. On his demise the Sultan of Golconda fixed 3000 huns for the maintenance of his family,³ and appointed Mir Abdul Qāsim his eldest son in the group of personal attendants.

5. Mirza Muhammad Zauhari Tabrezi. He was sent as an envoy to the Mughal court at Agra. He accompanied the Mughal ambassador Mir Hafizullah on his return journey to Agra.⁴ Mir Muh. died at Golconda in 1047 H.

6.] Mirza Hamza Astarābādi, nephew of Mirza Beg Kandaraski. He came from Persia to the court of Golconda during the reign of Muh. Qutb Shāh. He was given the office of Sar-i-Khail and taken into the intimate circle of the Sultan.⁵ Later, he was made the havildar of Golconda fort. He died in Shawwal, 1047 H. (Feb. 1638 A. D.)

7. Mirza Afzal-ul-lah Shirāzi. A Saiyid and a high noble of Persia, Afzal-ul-lah came to Golconda during the yearly years of the

1 *Ibid*, folio 494.

2 *Hadīqat-us-Salatin*, folio 495.

3 *Ibid*, folio 496.

4 *Ibid*, folio 497.

5 *Ibid*, folio 498.

reign of Sultan Abdulla Qutb. He is the author of the notable work called 'Hazar Hādīs' which deals with the religious rites of the Shias.¹ The strenuous mental labour which Mirza had to undergo in the completion of his monumental work caused him a serious ailment and he died in 1047 H. In the absence of any legal heir the property of the deceased was entrusted, by the orders of the Sultan, to the care of an honest amin till some of his distant relations laid claim to it.

8. Sheikh Hārum Jurairi. He was a moulvi of the madrassa attached to Langar Faiz Asar.² He was versed in the Muhammadan law and he taught *Ilm-i-Fiqh* (knowledge of religions and law) to the students. On his death in Zilka'ad 1047 H. (Mar. 1638 A. D.) his family was supported by the stipend that it received from Langar Faiz Asar.

9. Mulla Taqi Shirāzi. He was originally a member of the Sultan's corps of personal attendants. Later, he was sent as a plenipotentiary to the court of the Ahmadnagar, and then to Emperor Shahjahan's court at Daulatābad.³ He died at Agra while serving as a permanent envoy at the Mughal court in 1047 H.

10. Malik Ambar *Sar-i-Jamdar* (head of the royal ward-robe dept.) died in Zilka'ad 1047 H. (Mar. 1638 A. D.)

¹ *Ibid* folio 499.

² *Ibid* folio 500.

³ *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 500.

11. Hasan Beg Shirāzi. He began his career as the Kotwal of the capital city and gradually rose to be the Superintendent of the Kasar Hayat Mahal. On his death two of his sons were appointed in state service on a salary of 1000 hun.¹

12. Malik Ilmās. He was the Havildar of the masons. The Hayat Mahal Palace was constructed under the supervision² of the Malik.

13. Moulana Arab Shirāzi. He was the best calligraphist of the day.³

14. Mirza Abdul Qāsim. He was one of the high nobles of Gilān. At first he was in the service of Emperor Shahjahan; he came to the court of Golconda in the 15th regnal year of Sultan Abdulla Qutb.⁴ He was offered a salary of 3000 hun and a big house to live in. He imparted lessons on Science, Mathematics, Logic, Poetry, as well as Arabic and Persian.⁵

15. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad *alias* Hakim-ul-Mulk Gilāni. He was sent to Persia on embassy.

1 *Ibid* folio 501.

2 *Ibid* folio 504.

3 *Ibid* folio 506.

4 *Ibid* folio 533.

5 *Ibid*.

MIR JUMLA—IRAN CORRESPONDENCE

By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

This paper consists of three letters. Two, written by Mir Jumla to Khalifa i Sultan, the Wazir of Persia, under Shah Abbas II, are taken from Tabrezi's Golkonda Letters¹, while the third, the reply of Shah Abbas II to Mir Jumla's offer of joining Persian royal service, is from *Ruqaati Shah Abbas Sanî*². A comparative study of all these letters helps³ the clarification of many points regarding Mir Jumla's diplomacy and actions and Mughal-Deccan and Mughal-Persian relations in 17th century and enables one to understand the attitude of Mir Jumla towards Persia, during the formative period of his career as a minister in Golkonda. For the land of his birth, which he had left along with other co-religionists, under the pressure of dire economic necessity, augmented by mis-government in Persia, and in search of fortune, Mir Jumla retains a soft corner in his mind. This is clearly expressed by his admiration for the justice, the trade and the religion

¹ By Nazir ul Mamalik Haji Abdul All Tabrezi (Sarkar Ms.) Br. Museum Addl. 6600; Rieu, I. 398-99.

² By Muhammad Tahir Wahid (Sarkar Ms.). For the author and his works, see Rieu I, 189, 1019; II, 810, 843; III, 1181.

for which Persia was famous. The wazirate of Mirza Muhammad Taqi, the first Itimad-ud-dowla or minister of Shah Abbas II¹, neither ensured sound justice nor protected religion and trade. Mir Jumla, in pursuance of the opportunist policy of keeping as many friends by his side, to some of whom he could turn in times of emergent necessity, is, in his letters, seen endeavouring to secure the friendship and co-operation of Khali-fa i Sultan, who succeeded Muhammad Taqi as wazir of Persia (1645). He refers to the bond of mutual affection existing between them,—both being Sayyids of Ispahan,—and praises the new wazir's qualities, which would be instrumental in healing the evil effects of the previous lack of governance. He acknowledges that the failure to despatch a congratulatory mission was due not to any sense of ill-feeling, but to the prohibition² of the Mughal Government, whose suzerainty Golkonda had accepted in 1636. For, a violation of it would have meant for the Golkonda State a war on two fronts—a war with the Mughals would be joined to the already continuing war in the Karnatak. Mir Jumla also holds out the prospect of sending an ambassador to Persia next year (c. 1654). Moreover, he admits that he felt great pleasure and honour in receiving Shah Abbas II's *farman* regarding collection of the arrear customs due to the Persian Govern-

¹ Malcolm, *History of Persia*, I, 577n. FEF, 1642-45, pp. 296-7 & n

² Evidently due to and during the Perso-Mughal contest for Qandahar. For significance, See my article in J.B.O.R.S. March issue.

ment. By endeavouring to act up to it and realise the customs, and probably performing similar services on behalf of the Shah of Persia, Mir Jumla seems to have been storing a good capital to be utilised in a rainy day; and, as a matter of fact, we find the Shah of Persia actually referring to some services performed by Mir Jumla, when the latter offered to join Persian royal service, as a protection against the wrath of his master, Qutb Shah¹.

The collected customs dues were made over to Nauroz Aqa, by 1650—51. But the departure of Nauroz Aqa to Persia was held up for several reasons: (i) Bijapur's inciting the Mughal Government against Golkonda (1646-'50),² (ii) Mughal prohibition of sailing of ships to Persia. This prohibition was however cancelled about 1653 (probably after the end of the Qandahar expedition).

1. Mir Muhammad Said to Nawab Khalifa i Sultan³, who has been appointed Imad-udd-aula a second time in place of Mirza Muhammad Taqi⁴ Imad-ud-daula (killed) (70a-72a):

¹ See Letter in *Ruqat*. Cf. the policy of Mir Jumla of remaining in good books with the English (my articles in Proceedings, Third Hist. Congress, 1939; I. H. Q. Dec., 1940, J. B. O. R. S., Dec. 1940, March 1941; J. I. H. Aug. 1941), the Dutch (*Ibid.*, and the Portuguese (Bernier).

² For details see my article on "A few letters of Abdullah Qutb Shah & Mir Jumla relating to the partition of the Karnatak". Proceedings, I. H. R. C. (Mysore session), 1942.

³ See Note A.

⁴ See Note B.

(Complimentary phrases)

The bond of affection between us need not be dilated upon. I am thankful to the Padshah that a man like you has been instrumental in organising the Kingdom of Iran. The reins of power are now in your hands. With a pure mind, which is like a skilled artisan, you are going to rebuild¹ an old house. People now enjoy peace and security. It would have been meet on our part to send an ambassador to congratulate you, and offer our respectful greetings to you. But such a course would have been tantamount to preparation of war with the Mughals² in such a time, as the previous despatch of Hakimul mulk³ to your court was warned by the Imperial Court and as we have to obey it in the exigencies of the situation. And the Qutb Shahi army has been deputed under my command to chastise the rebels in the Karnatak, and hence⁴ all correspondence is now postponed. By God's grace and the Padshah's luck, the banner of Islam has been flown over the infidel Karnatak country, and that of Hinduism has been brought down. The entire body of rebels and rajas of these parts have been brought within the fold of

1 *i. e.* after the misdoings of the previous Wazir, which greatly undermined the stability of the Safavi house.

2 Showing the political influence of the Mughals over the State of Golkonda—during Qandahar expeditions.

3 An officer of the Golkonda Court. In *Hadigatus Salatin* we read of Hakimul Mulk Peshwa. See also Tabrizi.

4 The connection should be explained. The Mughal prohibition extended not only to sending of missions but also letters and ships to Persia.

my control'. The voice of Islam and the practices of our saints have been widely spread here. The affairs have been settled in accordance with the desires of the well-wishers of Qutb Shah. Next season an ambassador of ours would be sent to Persia² and our old traditional friendship may be revitalised.

There are several reasons why we leave the land of our birth: (i) to make our leaving easy, (ii) to send some help to near relations, family and the infirm, (iii) the oppression and the grabbing instinct of the Persian Shaikh ul Islam³ on the property of orphans and the poor, became known everywhere. The details might cause resentment in your minds. Suffice it to say that the Sunnis who come to India and complain to Shah-jahan's court of the oppression, get the reply "such a creed deserves such a Shaikh-ul-Islam". Therefore, owing to the defects in administration, many foreigners⁴ have stopped the despatch of goods to Persia; some looking upon Hindusthan as a better and more peaceful place than Iran, have recalled their goods as far as possible. When the judge who sits on the department of Cannon Law is such, the condition of the country and the extent of oppression in the time of the

1 This gives an idea about the probable date of the letter (C. 1653).

2 When the Golkonda State would be comparatively free.

3 For the office of Sadr-us-Sudur, created by Shah Ismail, see Malcolm I, 558² and Babur's Memoirs (King's Edn.) I. 307n. & 310 n.

4 Reading the text as جمعى از غربا we translate this as foreigners? European traders, See FEF, 1651-54, p. 69.

deceased Wazir do not require elucidation. When in Hindusthan, such emphasis is put on religion and observance of the laws of the Shariat, Iran, which is the fountain-head of religion (din) and wealth (daulat), and a source of justice, has given up the cause of truth¹.

Thank God, you have been invested with power to foster the Canon Law and Religion and to curb the hand of oppression.

I feel pleasure and honour to have received the *farman* of Shah Abbas² about the collection of state dues (customs) from Kirkirag³. I have tried to act up to it. Some persons have died, e. g. Aqa Raza Wabli. Their goods have mostly been lost. From those living I have collected the dues as far as possible and have despatched them to Nauroz Aqa, according to your orders. I should let you know further.

Mirza Abul Hadi, son of the deceased Maulana Mumin Husain Yazdi, is here. You have

1 This part of the letter strikes a peculiar note,—a personal element being added to general political and commercial situation. It throws completely new light on the early career of Mir Jumla and helps to explain why he, like other Shias, left Persia to seek a new career in India. Besides, Mir Jumla wants to remain in good books with the new Wazir of Persia, whose administration is here exrolled by him in striking contrast to the maladministration of the previous wazir.

2 Mir Jumla evidently tries to secure the goodwill of the Shah of Iran, by helping the realisation of State dues on behalf of the latter. A reference to Mir Jumla's services is made by the Shah, in a grateful spirit, in reply to Mir Jumla's appeal to join Persia as a refuge from the wrath of Abdullah Qutb Shah (Letter from *Ruqaat i Shah Abbas Sansi*).

3 The MS reads *کیرکیر*. Sir Jadunath Sarkar suggested to me that this is a word meaning fur dress, or feather of heron, & that the most likely interpretation is costly fur robes.

probably heard of him. Whatever he had brought with himself, was taken away from him, under pretext of purchase by *عدالت کشان* *ان هو*. He came empty-handed to Haidarabad. He did not possess the capital for trade and not even the wherewithal to meet his daily expenses. How could he pay the demands of the Persian Shah? He might graciously be exempted. If this is not approved, he might come to the Shah's Court. There is no harm in his coming; after his condition is known, he might be pardoned.

2. From same to same (72b-73a):

Nauroz Aqa, by dint of the fortune of the Shah of Iran has, now for 2 or 3 years, finished the affair of the realisation of the arrear demands of the *Khassa-i-Sharifa* from the *Kirkaraq*¹ (some of whom have died), by dint of his wisdom, enterprise and power of management, and prepared himself to go to the Shah's Court. But the proverb says that God should not give a bad neighbour to any. Our neighbour has poisoned the atmosphere of harmony prevailing in the Deccan and enkindled the fires of disturbance and by sending false accusations to the Emperor² incited him against us (Golkonda). Hence, the despatch of Nauroz Aqa would have added another difficulty.

¹ The text is not clear. Probably it might mean Adil Shah, through whose territories the travellers had to pass. Direct reference would not be politic.

² Here evidently the word refers to persons trading in the article *کرکرک*.

³ This was perhaps about the partition of the *Karnata-natak* (1646-'50) about the same time as the contest for Qandahar and subsequent expeditions to regain it.

The imperial order forbidding the sailing of the ships going to Persia has been received in this court. For all these reasons, he did not start for Iran. Now¹ the above order has been cancelled and so he has now started to go to Iran. I pray that this delay over which he had no control might be excused. May you have mercy on him.

¹ Probably after 1652-3, after the last expedition *e. g.* Qandahar.



NOTE ON "TWO JAINA IMAGES"

By KALIPADA MITRA

I have read with interest Mr. Adris Banerji's article, *Two Jaina images*, in the March issue of this journal (*ante* vol. XXVIII, pp. 43-47). He has given the description of a slab originally found by Mr. J. C. French, a retired civilian officer, at Pakbirra in the district of Manbhum. He says: "Its present whereabouts are unknown to me. On this slab we find a woman in full maturity, with right hand broken standing under a tree; with her left hand she holds an arm of a child, on her right is the diminutive figure of a man, and on the pedestal is found the forepart of a lion. On either side at the top we find images of *vidyādharas*".

Mr. Banerji has rightly identified the image on the stele to be that of Ambikā-devī, the *yakṣiṇī* or the *Sāsana-devatā* of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara. Probably he did not find on the top the image of the Tīrthaṅkara (whose *lāñchana* or cognisance is a conch), otherwise he would have mentioned it. Did not Mr. French furnish a description?

It appears Mr. Banerji has not seen the excellent monograph, entitled *Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā* by Mr. Umakant Premanand Shah, M. A., published in the *Journal of the*

University of Bombay (Vol. IX, pt. 2. Sep., 1940). Shah has therein collected the legendary accounts of the goddess found in Jain works. The main incidents of the legend which help the explanation of the iconography of the goddess Ambikā are to be found in the Śvetāmbara version, the *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, and the Digambara version, *Puṇyāśravakathā* (*Yakṣī-kathā*) of which latter an account has been furnished by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran in his *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples* (also noted by Shah) from which Mr. Banerji has quoted the story in our journal. The versions agree in the main, but have slight differences:

- | Śvetāmbara (V.T.K.) | Digambara (Y. A.) |
|---|--|
| (a) In Koṭinār of Sau-rāṣṭra province dwelt a Brahman named a Brahman named Somaśarmman. Somabhaṭṭa. | In Girinagara lived a Brahman named Somaśarmman. |
| (b) His wife's name was Ambikā (Ambiṇī in Pkt. text). | His wife's name was Agnilā. |
| (c) They had two sons Siddha and Buddha. | They had two sons Śubhaṅkara and Pra-bhaṅkara (or Priyaṅkara, according to another version). |
| (d) On the occasion of the <i>Sradh</i> ceremony of the Brahman's ancestors and feeding of Brahmans, during the absence of the wife's husband and mother-in-law, out of the food prepared for Brahmans. | |

Ambikā fed a fasting Jain Muni.	Agnilā fed a fasting Jain Muni named Varadatta.
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(e) In rage the Brahman drove out his wife.

Ambikā left the house with her two sons who were hungry and cried for food whereupon a road-side dried mango-tree became alive miraculously, put forth shady branches and offered ripe mangoes to her. Ambikā rested under the tree.	Agnilā left the house with her two sons and maid-servant and repaired to Urjjayanta hill where Varadatta was practising penance. On his refusing initiation to her she dwelt under a shady tree which later on became a <i>Kalpavṛkṣa</i> .
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(f) Soma repented, went out to fetch Ambikā, but she, misunderstanding his intentions, jumped into a well with her sons and died. According to another version of *V. T. K.* she threw herself down from the Raivataka hill and died.

Somaśarman repented and went to Urjjayanta hill to bring back Agnilā who threw herself down from the hill and died.

(g) She was reborn in a heaven named *Koḥaṇḍa Vimāna* as a

She was reborn as a *Vyaṁtari* or *Yakṣī*, and became the *Śāsana*

Yakṣī and became devatā of Neminātha.
the Śāsanadevat of
Neminātha.

- (h) The penitent Soma The penitent Soma
died after her, and sarman threw himself
due to his Ābhiyau- down from the hill,
gic *Karma* was and due to his *Karma*,
reborn as a lion was reborn as a lion
and became the and became the
vāhana of Ambikā, *vāhana* of Agnilā.

Ambikā is represented in the following varieties:—(a) two armed, (b) four-armed and (c) having more than four arms. In the first she has two positions—(1) standing, (2) sitting. She stands (we have here the standing position) under the *āmra* or mango tree, holds a bunch of mangoes in her hand and is therefore also called *Āmrā* (cf. Prakrit *Ambā*, *Ambī*). We have already seen in the legend that a dried mango-tree, out of compassion to her and her hungry sons, miraculously became alive, put forth shady branches and offered ripe mangoes to her. She also rested under the branches. Her association with mango is indicated in the following *stavas* :

A. She is goadess *Āmrā* or *Amḃā*.

- (a) Dvibhuja siṃhamārūḍhā *Āmrādevī*
haritprabhā.

—*Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha of Vasunandī*
(Digambara), Ch. V. verse 59.

- (b) Smihe bhartṛcare sthitā^m haritābhāmāmra-
drumacchāyagām.

Vaṃdāruṃ daśakārmukocchrayajinam
devīmiha *Āmrām* yaje.

—*Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra of Āśādhara*.

- (c) *Kamrāmralumbi* bhṛtpāṇiratṛ *Āmbā*
saṅghavighnahṛt.

—*Ujjayanta-stava* (v. 13).

- (d) Kurvanpurah praguṇitam *sahakāralumbim*
Ambe...

—*Jainastotrasamuccaya*, pp. 143-4.

- (e) Śrī Nemiṇasya *Ambādevī* kanakakānti-
rucih...

—*Pravācanasāroddhāra-Pūrvārdha*
p. 95.

N. B.—Here we see popular etymology at work, the Pkt. form *Ambiṇī* (for *Ambikā*) suggesting her association with mango.

- B. *She rests under the shady mango tree, and holds a bunch of mangoes in her (right or left) hand: See (b), (c) and (d).*

- C. *She holds her younger son Priyaṅkara (aged 5 years) on her lap by the left hand, and extends the fingers of her right hand to be caught by (or holding a bunch of mangoes to) Subhaṅkara, the elder son (aged 7 years).*

- (f) Savyekadyupaga *Priyaṅkara* sutukprītyai
kare bibhratīm divyāmrastabakam
Subhaṅkara śliṣṭānyahastāṅgulim.

—*Pra. Sā.* p. 176.

Mr. Banerji says that the right hand of the image on the Pakbirra slab has been broken and on her right is the diminutive figure of a man. The latter is certainly Śubhāṅkara and the right hand held a bunch of mangoes to Śubhāṅkara (as in figures 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 14 and 23 of Shah's monograph).

He also refers to an image on a slab in the temple on the top of Deogarh hill and says that no attempt seems to have been made to identify it. It appears that Shah has identified not only this image (see fig. 2), but also another from the same spot (Fig. 3).

The Pakbirra image of Ambikā furnishes another evidence of Jain influence in Manbhum district, particularly of the popularity of the goddess Ambikā. In the jungles of Khadi pergana in the Sunderban region in Bengal was discovered a few years ago a bronze image of Ambikā along with four other bronze Jain images. Mr. Kalidas Dutt has given an account of the finds in the *Bhāratvarṣa* (a Bengali periodical) of Āsvin B. S. 1336 (=A. D. 1929). The middle photograph on p. 570 shows a female deity standing under an arched mango-creeper rising from the pedestal on her extreme left (proper) and going round over her head in foliage. Two mangoes are seen on the creeper entwining the stem. She holds a baby in her left hand which passes under its back and rests on the waist. The other hand hangs down her side with outstretched fingers holding (between the thumb and four fingers) a bunch of mangoes. On her right stands a boy who is attached to the main figure by means of the end of

the scarf of the goddess touching his head. The boy has lost his right hand but stands on the pedestal (left foot on the main pedestal and right on the projection). The goddess stands on a lotus supported on a carved stool. She wears elaborate dress and ornament. There seems to be a lion seated on the pedestal on the left between the lotus and the stem. She is undoubtedly Ambikā, though Mr. Dutt mistook her for Hārīti. A renowned Professor of Pali-Buddhist literature on seeing an image in my College (about the identification of which I read a paper before the Archaeology section of the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad in December, 1941) took her to be Hārīti-mātā. The image, however, is Jain, as on the top there is the Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva with his cognisance the bull. It may be said, however, in a way that Ambikā belongs to the mother-and-child group with which Hārīti is associated.

Pārvatī is similarly associated. Vogel¹ took the image of Ambikā for Pārvatī, to which identification he was apparently led by two considerations—(1) the *vāhana* is a lion which is also that of Ambikā, and (2) there is Gaṇeśa sitting to the right of a standing boy (Śubhaṅkara?) touching with his right hand the right knee of the goddess sitting in *lalitāsana* pose. But the Jina image over her head shows her Jain origin. It may, however, be surmised that here has been a fusion of Jain and Brahmanic ideas.

¹ J. Ph. Vogel—*Mathura Catalogue*, pp. 95 6 pI XVII, fig. no. D7.

It seems that the Jains have taken the idea of Ambikā from the Hindu goddess Ambikā together with her vehicle, the lion. Hindu Ambikā is also called Ambā (mother). Amba is Āmra. From Ambā to Āmrā is an easy step. Popular etymology was at work and we get an Āmrā-devī—with the association of mango—resting under a mango tree and holding a bunch of mangoes in her hand as noted above.

There are other considerations which favour this suggestion of mine. It has been seen that Ambikā, the wife of Soma, was after her suicide reborn in Kohaṇḍa vimāna, and had therefore another name, viz., *Kohaṇḍī* (*Kuṣmāṇḍī* or *Kuṣmāṇḍīnī*). It should be remembered that *Kuṣmāṇḍī* is also another name of Durgā, who was regarded as the protecting deity of the *Kuṣmāṇḍas*, a hilly clan attached to Śiva. The next step is that of a sort of *tāntrikism* associated with Śiva-Śakti, whose attributes are gradually appropriated by the Jain deity (although magic is strongly condemned by orthodox Jainism), and we have a form of Jain *tāntrikism*! The following verses are quoted in support:—

(a) Ambikā has now a mūla-mantra :

Om hrīṃ Āmra-kuṣmāṇḍīnī ! hsklhm namah

—*Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, App. 19, p. 92

(b) Her vehicle is changed to *mahiṣa* (buffalo) associated with Yama.

¹ Shah—*op. cit* pp. 161-62. This article has been freely quoted by me.

Oṃ Kuṣmāṇḍiṇi rakte raktamahīṣamārūḍhe
subhāsubhāṃ kathaya kathaya jhvim svāhā.

—*Ambikā-devī-kalpa* of Śubhacandra (in Ms.)

- (c) "The *Ambikā-tātanḱah* provides, for the terrific form of this goddess. She is addressed as Śive, Śāṅkare, Stambhini, Mohini, Dīpani, Soṣaṇi etc. or as Bhīmanāde, Caṇḍike, Caṇḍarupe etc."

Ambikā was a very popular deity, it seems, throughout India. She is frequently invoked for aid and counsel. In the account of Jinadatta Śūri (V. S. 1132-1211=A. D. 1075-1154) it is related that a Śravaka named Ambaḍa (Nāgadeva) adored Ambikādevī on Ujjayanta and asked her who would be the *yugāpradhāna* of the age. She wrote some (golden) letters on his hand and said that the person who would be able to read them would be the *yugāpradhāna*. None could read them except Jinadatta Śūri. I am giving the following references :

- (a) Ākhyā to Ambikaya svayam yugavarastīrthan-
karasya prati.

—*Jineśvarasūriyāśvāvakadharmavṛtti*.

- (b) Śrī Ambikādevatāprakaṣitayugapradhānatvāl-
aṃkṛta nāmadheyānāṃ Śrī Jinadattasūrinām.
—*Sandehadolāvalībrahadvṛttau* Prabodhacan-
dragaṇih.

- (c) Śrīmad Ambikopāsanalabdhaḱarākṣara Śrī
Nāgadevasāvakabijñātaprakaṣitayugapradhāna-
pūjāvi.....

—*Jinadattasūriyāsmaraṇastāvavṛtti*.

- (d) Kuṣmāṇḍaya' astika Nāgadeva tapasā santuṣ-
ṭayā yad-yugaprādhnyam prakatīkṛtam....

Saiṣa Jinadattasūri.....

—*Uttarādhyayanavṛtti* (sarvvrthasiddhi)
prnte.

Note—Here Ambikā is Kuṣmāṇḍī.

Some songs from *Aitihasik Jaina-kāvya-saṃgraha*;—

- (e) जिणदत्त नंदउ सुपहु जो भारहंमि जुगपवरो

अंबाएवि पसाया, बिन्नाउ नागदेवेण ।

- (f) अम्बिकाए देवि आदेसि जाणियइ चिहु जुगे जुगप्रधान
सयंभरी ए राय डइ जेहि, दीघउ श्री जिनधर्मदान ।

(* = Śīkambhari)

In *Jainarājasūri-rāsa* we get परतखी देवि अम्बिका
and so forth.

Referring to the Digambar Jaina image noticed
by Beglar at Pakbirra Mr. Banerji says, "The lotus
symbol on the pedestal indicates that it was an
image of Śreyāṃsanātha".

The emblem (*Cinḡha*, *lāñchana*, cognisance)
of Śreyāṃsanātha, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara is—

- (a) Rhinoceros (or Garuḍa), according to the
Śvetāmbaras. See J. L. Jaini, *Outlines of
Jainism*, the table facing p. 6.

- (b) Deer, according to the Digambaras. See
Burgess, *Digambar Jain Iconography*.

Naminātha, the 21st Tīrthaṅkara, has Blue
Lotus (*nīluppalā*, or *nīlapadma*) according to the
Śvetāmbaras. Pradyumnasūri also in his *Vicāra-
sāraprakaraṇa* describing the *lāñchaṇas* of the Tīr-
thaṅkaras (*lāchanatti*) indicates *gaṇḍaya* for the
eleventh Tīrthaṅkara.

PARBHU SINGH

By F. L. SHELDON

The story of Parbhu Singh's heroism reads like a romance. This Rajput cultivator left his village Bhairampur in the Bhabua Sub-division of the District of Shahabad in 1895 for South-Africa as an indentured coolie in the employ of the Dundee (Natal) Coal Mining Company. When the Boer War broke out he and other indentured labourers were captured by the Boers and forced to work for them. But he remained loyal to Her Majesty the Queen and escaped along with other Indians to Ladysmith where Sir George White in command admitted them. The Boers then besieged Ladysmith and shelled the town from Umbulwana Mountain with what was then probably the most powerful cannon in the world and which the heroic defenders nicknamed "Long Tom". During this long siege of Ladysmith Parbhu Singh was entrusted with the job of standing on a high place in the outskirts of the town and waving a red flag each time. Long Tom was fired so that the defenders and people of Ladysmith could take timely cover. Though in this exposed position of great danger he performed this task bravely and successfully. After the relief of Ladysmith and the victory of British

arms, the European and Indian population of Natal recognised his heroic act and opened a subscription list which presented him with over £100. He was asked what else he wanted and when he wished to be allowed to return to his home the wish was granted. His employers the Dundee Coal Mining Company of Natal generously released him from the remainder of his contract of service with the Company. The Immigration Restriction Officer at Port Natal gave him a certificate declaring that he would be free if ever he wished to return to South-Africa. Sir George White, when later in England, related the story of the brave deed in a public meeting, and Lady Curzon, the then Vice-reine, heard of it and sent him a *Choga* which was publicly presented to him at a meeting of the Council in Durban by the Commandant Colonel Morris on 3rd October 1900. The Natal Newspapers like the "Mercury" and the "Review and Critic" wrote highly of his bravery. The "Review and Critic" awarded its first Silver Heroes Medal to him. Mahatma Gandhi, then an advocate at Durban, gave him a letter of introduction to the Hon. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee to be delivered when he arrived in Calcutta. Unfortunately Parbhu Singh who was illiterate and evidently appreciated what he had done far less than others went straight home on arriving in India, instead of delivering his letters of introduction and showing his papers. By this omission his bravery did not receive the publicity and recognition that it deserved in his own country. But latterly steps have been taken to commemorate his bravery. The Patna Museum has

very kindly exhibited¹ the *Choga*², the letter of Mahatma Gandhi dated Durban 14th October 1900 signed by the Mahatma and addressed to the Hon. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, giving an account of what Prabhu Singh had done at the historical siege of Ladysmith³, the letter of the Port Immigration Restriction Officer, Natal, dated 14th December 1900 granting freedom of admission to the Colony (Natal) to this freed indentured coolie if at any time he wished to return to Natal,⁴ the "Review and Critic" Number dated Durban October 6th, 1900 containing an article on Parbhu Singh's brave act and awarding him the paper's first Silver Heroes Medal⁵, a reproduction of a photograph of the brave act taken by an Officer of the Gordon Highlanders in Ladysmith during the siege and⁶ a photograph of Parbhu Singh as he is to-day at the age of 75.

It would be a tragic loss to India, to students of history, and to Bihar in particular, if the memory and the evidence of this great act of bravery of a Bihari were to be forgotten, destroyed or lost. There is now a lesson on "Vir Prabhu Singh" in a Hindi Reader used in Primary Schools in Shahabad. But it is evident that his story is not widely known or appreciated among his own country-men. His documents themselves could be used usefully by students of Empire History. Some of them like the signature of the Mahatma penned in 1900 would fetch a high price from collectors. Above all Indians and Biharis in particular may well feel proud of this great act of courage and

bravery of an Indian which helped in no small way to retain South-Africa for the British Commonwealth of Nations.



Reviews and Notices of Books

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY *by* JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA, M. A., Ph. D. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. I-XVI, I—459, Plates I-X. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941.

The author has divided his work into eight chapters : Chap. I—Study of Hindu Iconography; Chap. II—The Antiquity of Image-worship in India; Chap. III—The Origin and Development of Image-worship in India; Chap. IV—Brahmanical Divinities and their Emblems on Early Indian Coins; Chap. V—Deities and their Emblems on Early Indian Seals; Chap. VI—Iconoplastic Art in India; Chap. VII—Iconographic Terminology; Chap. VIII—Canons of Iconometry. Appendices A and B describe some well-known iconographic texts, and Appendix C contains details of measurement of some mediaeval images. The Plates represent symbols and emblems from plaques, coins and seals.

From the above contents it would appear that the author has traversed the same ground in Chaps. I-III, and VI-VIII as in the pioneer works of T. A. G. Rao and the monographs of Krishna Sastri, Bhattacharya, Dubreuil and Bhattasali. He may, however claim credit for the first systematic iconographic treatment of the coins and

seals. Even in the other chapters, the author has sought to bring the information up to date. There are some omissions which deserve to be remedied. The author is probably not aware of the valuable Mauryan stone torso of Jina discovered at Lohani-pur (Patna) in 1936 and at present housed in the Patna Museum. It has an important bearing in relation to the seal discovered at Mahenjo-Daro depicting a naked figure in a posture of meditation, cf. Seal No. Marshall, Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. III, Plate CXVIII, Vs. 210.

In chapters IV and V, the labours of the writer have been directed into new fields of enquiry and have enabled him to define more accurately, and in many cases to reverse, the information which had been previously acquired. The prevailing fault of Indian numismatic writers is the substitution of ingenuity in the place of knowledge, and an utter contempt for references and quotations. The present work shows patience and scholarship and is a credit to the Calcutta University which has published it in an attractive form.

A. B. Ś.

Obituary

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY

The late Rai Bahadur was one of the Foundation members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, its first Honorary General Secretary and a member of its Council from 1915 to the end of his life. By his death the Society to whose Journal he contributed the results of his anthropological enquiries and the Patna Museum where are housed many of his ethnological collections have suffered an irreparable loss. A short account of his literary and public works is given below by his son.

[EDITOR, J. B. O. R. S.]

Sarat Chandra Roy (Rai Bahadur), M. A., B. L., of Ranchi, was born on the 4th November, 1871. Though he began life as a lawyer, he soon devoted himself to anthropological research. He was known as "the Doyen of Indian anthropologists". His first monograph *The Mundas and their Country* appeared in 1912, and was followed by several other volumes on the tribes of Chota-Nagpur and Orissa. He delivered courses of Readership Lectures in Anthropology in the Patna University, in 1919 and 1920, and His Excellency Sir Edward Gait, the then Governor of Bihar and Orissa and Chancellor of



RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY

BORN : NOV. 4, 1871

DIED : APRIL 20, 1942

the Patna University, in introducing him to the audience, said that "he knew more about the subject (Anthropology) than anybody else in India." In 1921 he started a quarterly magazine, the "*MAN IN INDIA*" which is still one of the leading anthropological journals in India. He joined the Patna Provincial Museum as its first Curator and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as its first Honorary General Secretary. As early as in 1921, he was elected Honorary Member of the Folk-Lore Society of London—the only Indian to be so honoured. He was also elected a member of the *Conseil d'honneur* of the International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Besides his researches in Social Anthropology he broke new ground in the pre-historic Archaeology of India by his excavations and researches in the 'Asur' sites of Chota-Nagpur. His devoted philanthropic work for the uplift of the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur has endeared him to these people and he sat as an elected member of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa for seventeen years. In the Foreword to his book on *The Kharias*, Dr. R. R. Marett, the great English Anthropologist wrote: "There is a saying that 'the world knows little of its greatest men, and I am inclined to apply it to the case of Mr. Roy and India'. Dr. J. H. Hutton, M. A., D. Sc., LL. D., C. I. E., formerly Census Commissioner of India and now Professor of Anthropology in the University of Cambridge, in his Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Indian Anthropological Institute in January 1938

spoke eulogistically of his valuable ethnological contributions as the "single-handed work of that father of Indian Ethnology, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy". See the *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*. Vol. 1, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 6): As his special public works may be mentioned his life-long service in the cause of the uplift of the aborigines, and he served for a long time as Vice-Chairman of the Ranchi District Board. He was an elected member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislature from 1921 to 1937, a member of the Provincial Committee that sat with the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, the Franchise (Lothian) Committee and the Hammond Committee.

He was given a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal in 1913, and a Rai Bahadurship in 1919.

The Indian Science Congress of 1941 paid their homage to the Rai Bahadur on the occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, by presenting him with a volume of "*ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY*" written in his honour by some of the eminent anthropologists of the day.

His publications are:—

1. "*The Mundas and Their Country*" (1912).
 2. "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915).
 3. "*Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology*" (1920).
 4. "*The Birhors*" (1925).
 5. "*Oraon Religion and Customs*" (1928).
 6. "*The Hill Bhuiyans of Orissa*" (1935).
 7. "*The Kharias*" (1937) in two volumes.
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Appendix A
TWO IMPORTANT MSS.
COMMENTARIES OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

1. निगूढपदबोधिनी—Nigūḍha Pada-Bodhinī.

A commentary on the difficult ślokaś of the Mahābhārata.

Author :—अर्जुनमिश्रः ।

Substance:—Character, Oriyā. Palm-leaf. Size, 18×1½. Folia, 130. Lines, 5 on a page, appearance, very very old. Prose and in places poetry. Correct. Date? Seems incomplete. Place of deposit:—Pandit Ramacandra Pañcānana, Baramba, P. O. Via., Carcikā, Orissa, B. N. Ry.

Note:—Very old Ms.

Beginning:—ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ओं नमो भगवते
वासुदेवाय ओं विश्वाय विश्वविभवे शुक्तिभावनाय
नारायणाय सकलैकपरायणाय ॥ द्वैतान्धकार-
विभिदे गुरुभाष्कराय तस्मै नमो भगवते
शुसभोदिताय ॥ निर्घण्टभाष्यनिगमनिरुक्तानि
विशेषतः वैशम्पायनटीकादीन्येव शिवस्वा-
मिमतानि च श्रीमद्विमलबोधस्य मतं मिश्रार्जुन-
स्य च श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञमतमालोक्य तत्त्वतः
श्रीमद्भारतव्याख्या निगूढपदबोधिनी टीका
विरच्यतेऽस्माभिरादिपर्व्वक्रमादियं ॐ ओं नमो

*Brought to light by Pandit Nagendra Nath Mahapatra during the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's search for Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in Orissa.

भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं
चैव नरोत्तमं देवीं सुरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो
जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ नन्वादौ नारायणादिनमस्कारः
किमर्थं उच्यते ॥ सकलशिष्टैकवाक्यतयाऽभि-
मतकर्मारम्भसमये ग्रन्थमाचरतीति ग्रन्थारम्भे
ग्रन्थकुन्मङ्गलं कृतवान् ॥

End:—स्वप्नद्रष्टं तत्तन्नानाप्रकारमिदमनुभूतं स्वप्न इति ज्ञात्वा
यद्यद्भावितं भावनाख्येन संस्कारेण स्मृतिं जपयित्थो-
पनीतं तत्तत् कथयन्ति जनेऽभ्यस्तस्वप्नमनुवर्त्तते कारण-
तया सात्विकस्य पृथक् वचनमतमोक्षफलोत्पत्तिहेतुत्वात् ॥
राजसता मततया रस इति शेषः ॥

Colophon:—Wanting. The whole work is as yet un-published. The author collects nearly 8000 very difficult Ślokas of the महाभारत which are generally called by the local Pandits व्यासकृत and then goes on commenting on them. Mentions विमलबोध, शिवस्वामी, वैशम्पायन with others as commenta-tors on the महाभारत ।

C-C. Un-noticed.

H. P. S. Do. (Vol. X & XI) (Vols. I & II).

Do. In his Purāṇa Volume (1928) discovered only a fragment (13 Ślokas only, which may be compared with the 2nd Mss. (attached herewith) of the same author; 1st Mss. un-noticed.

2. महाभारतार्थसंग्रहदीपिका—Mahābhāratārtha-Saṅgṛaha-Dīpikā.

Author :—अर्जुनमिश्रः ॥

Substance:—Character, Oriya. Palm-leaf. Size, 20×1½. Folia, 206. Lines, 4 on a page, appearance, very old. Prose and in places poetry. Complete. Correct. Date? Place of deposit:—Pandit Ramachandra Pañcanana, Baramba, P. O. *via*. Carcika., Orissa. B. N. Ry.

Beginning :—नमः श्री कृष्णाय ॥ कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
 ॥ पर्व विराटपर्वणोऽन्ते अभिमन्योर्विवाहः
 संवृत्तः ॥ तदनन्तरं उपसि विराटस्य सभा-
 मभिजग्भुरितिपर्वणोः सम्बन्धित्वं ॥ सैन्य-
 सञ्चयप्रत्यगादेशुद्धोद्योगार्थमेव ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ महा-
 वाक्य इति अस्योद्योगपर्व इति नाम ॥ अत्र
 दुर्योधनस्य सकलदूतवचनानङ्गीकरणान्मूढः
 तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ अवान्तरवाक्यास्तु पुरोहित-
 यानस्य सान्ना अर्थसिद्धौ दण्डो न कर्त्तव्य
 इति ॥

End :—तत् गच्छ व्यत्ससीङ्गप्रस्यसे निरमितः निःशत्रुः हिरण्यमयो
 ज्ञानमयः सुवर्णमयो वा एष्ये अन्वेष्ये आयाः
 आगच्छेः ॥ नैव इति नैव गच्छति आत्मा
 ऽसि वायोः वायोः सखाऽसि शरीरमुत्तत वा शरीरं
 वायोरेव । योनिः कारणं । वीरुधां वृक्षजतादीनां
 प्रपन्ना गता हेतयो अर्चिषः तमसे तमसो निवृत्तये गोपु-
 गुष्मिषु प्रतिष्ठा प्रलयस्थानं ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

Colophon :—इति श्रीभारताचार्यपाठकराजश्रीमदीशानतनय-
भारताचार्यर्याजुनमिश्रकृतौ महाभारतार्थसंग्रहदी-
पिकायां टीकायामादिपञ्च समाप्तं ॥

विषयः—महाभारतव्याख्यानं । From the beginning of the Ādiparva to the end of the Sabhāparva.

C.C.—Page 439. Only a mention is made from W. (i. e., A. Weber, Berlin 1853) which appears to be a different work.

L. (R. Mitra) 2126,2158 : different works as appears from the beginning, end and colophon.

H. P. S. a fragment only (13 verses from the 1st canto.)



Appendix B

Four palm leaf manuscripts noticed by Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri in course of his search for Sanskrit MSS. in Mithila and purchased for the library of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Patna in May 1942.

(1) Dvaitanirṇayaḥ by Vāchaspati Miśra.

Character, Maithili. Palm leaves. Lines, 5 on a page. Letters, 60 in a line. Folia, 94. 14×2 inches. Appearance, old. Prose and verse. Complete. Correct. Date, La.Sam. 399=1518 A.D. Extent of 1800 Ślokaś. It deals with Dāna, Āchāra, Śuddhi, Vyavahāra, Vrata, Śrāddha, Malamāsa, Upanayana etc. Noticed under No. 227 of Mithila MSS. Cat. vol. I.

Post Colophon :—नवनवहुतभुग्भिर्लक्षिते लक्ष्मणेन्द्रचित्तिपति-
गतवर्षे फाल्गुने कृष्णपक्षे । प्रतिपदि रविवारे
किञ्चिदेव प्रयुक्त्या लिखितमखिलपुस्तं मिश्र-
नन्दीश्वरेण ॥ चान्दोविशेषितकुलोज्ज्वल
बल्लियाससम्भूतिरुत्तमयशास्त्रमरेशमिश्रः ।
तत्सूनुना लिपिरियं निरमायि तूर्णनन्दीश्व-
रेण बुधसंसदि संमतेन ॥ सुवर्णालङ्कारा
बहुरसमयी सद्गुणवतीसुगात्री पत्राली विर-
चितरुचिः सन्ततशुचिः । विलेपैः पाण्डु-
श्रीः कचिदरुणिता शुद्धिविधये प्रियापुस्ती-
हस्ते भवति सुकृतैः कस्यचिदपि ॥

(2) Śuddhichintāmaṇiḥ by Vāchaspati Miśra.

Character, Maithilī. Palm leaves. Lines, 5 on a page. Letters, 60 in a line. Folia, 88. 15×2 inches. Appearance, old. Prose and verse. Complete. Correct. Date, La.Sam. 502=1621 A.D. Extent of 1700 Ślokas. It deals with Asauchavi-chāra. Noticed under No. 370 of Mithila MSS. Cat. vol. I.

Post Colophon :—लसं १०२ आरिचनशुक्लपौर्णमास्यां गुरौ
विक्रमपुरे लिलेख करणश्रीहिरानन्दोस्मिन्
पुस्तके पञ्चाशतानि पत्राणीति ॥ अविदग्ध-
वणिग्बीथीधूलिधूसरितो मणिः । केन-
चित्पुण्यजनुषा विदुषा परिचीयते ॥

(3) Mahādānanirṇayah by Vāchaspati Miśra.

Character, Maithilī. Palm leaves. Lines, 5 on a page. Letters, 68 in a line. Folia, 103. 15×2 inches. Appearance, old. Prose and verse. Complete. Correct. Date, La. Sam. 507 and Śaka 1544=1626 and 1622 A. D. respectively. The differences between the two dates are of 4 years. Extent of 2200 Ślokas. It deals with giving gifts (Dāna). Vāchaspati Miśra, at the suggestion of King Bhairava Siṃha who flourished in Mithila in La. Sam. 321=1440 A. D. Composed this work. Noticed in supplementary Mithila MSS. Cat. of Smṛti.

Post Colophon :—लसं ५०७ शाके १५४४ वैशाखवदिपञ्च-
दश्याञ्चन्द्रे श्री वंशमणिशर्मणा लिखितोयं
महादाननिर्णयः ॥ अयि जननि कृपाण-
वाणचक्रप्रतिनवकरम्बितोरुहन्ते । महिष-
मुखनिषण्णशूलमूलस्खलितखरद्युतिमण्डले
नमस्ते ॥

(4) Adbhutasāgarah by Ballālasenadeva.

Character, Maithilī. Palm leaves. Lines, 5 on a page. Letters, 60 in a line. Folia, 428. $14 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Appearance, old. Verse. Complete. Correct. Date, La. Sam. 427=1546 A. D. Extent of 8025 ślokas. The work belongs to Jyotiśśāstra and deals with extraordinary occurrences. Noticed under No. 7 of Mithila MSS. Cat. vol. III.

Post Colophon :—लसं ४२७ मार्गवदि पं, ५ बुधे ए दिनेकङ्क-
पुरनगरे वत्तमपुरुष श्रीचन्द्रेण लिखितं
अद्भुतसागरमिति ॥





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[PART III

Leading Articles

THE INDIA
OF
THE EARLY GREEKS AND ROMANS FROM
THE TIME OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION
TILL THE FALL OF ALEXANDRIA
326 B. C. TO 641 A. D.

By A. C. PERUMALIL, S. J.

I

THE GREEK PERIOD

(A)

THE GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE GREEKS
CONSEQUENT TO THE INVASION OF INDIA
BY ALEXANDER

In the year 326 B. C. Alexander the Great of Macedonia with his triumphant army crossed the Indus, the eastern boundary of the Persian Empire,

A few Abbreviations :—

Christ. K. C. Rossini's *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis*, . . .

McA. McCrindle's *Ancient India* as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.

McC. McCrindle's *Ancient India* as described by Ptolemy.

McD. McCrindle's *Ancient India* and its invasion by Alexander the Great.

McE. McCrindle's *Ancient India* as described in classical literature..

MG. *Patrologia Graeca*, Migne edition.

ML. *Patrologia Latina*, Migne edition.

N. B.—*Excluding the asterisk, all the italics are ours.*

and entered India. Here, after fighting and defeating the petty chiefs and kings of the neighbouring localities, he came face to face with the army of King Pôros. After a very tactical battle Pôros was defeated and taken captive. At his own request Alexander gave him freedom and "not only appointed Pôros to govern his own Indians, but added to his original territory another of still greater extent. Alexander thus treated this brave man as befitted a king, and he consequently found him in all respects faithful and devoted to his interests"¹.

Now, before him lay the vast unknown region of India. This he wanted to conquer, surpassing the mythical exploits of Dionysos, Heraklês and Semiramis². But his Macedonian troops, on reaching the Hyphasis (Beas) river, were frightened at the thought of new terrors and fresh privations and refused to go any further. Hence Alexander had to be content with the conquest of the territory of the Punjab.

Alexander, greatly disappointed, was forced to return along the same route by which he had come. He appointed Pôros to act as his viceroy with the title of satrap over "15 tribes, 5,000 considerable cities, and villages without number"³, while he himself made preparations for executing the bold project of taking his army down the course of the Punjab rivers to the sea. He seized and purchased ships of Indian and Persian traders on

1 Arrian. *Anabasis*, 5.19; McD. pp. 109-10.

2 Strabo, 15. 1. 5-6; McE, pp. 10-11.

3 Plutarch. *Life of Alex.* 60; McD. p. 300.

the Indus. Other ships he built himself. Thus he assembled a fleet of two thousand ships of all sizes¹. When everything was ready he sent Nearchos, his admiral, down the river Indus, accompanied by a land force that marched along the banks. During the voyage he conquered and subjugated all the kingdoms of the Indus valley. After reaching the sea he sent Nearchos and his fleet to explore the coasts of Gedrosia and Karmania up to the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. Meanwhile with his own army he marched along the desert of Gedrosia and Karmania. He arrived at Susa, a city of Persia, in the year 324 B. C. Nearchos with his men also reached Susa after having made a safe voyage. There Alexander celebrated his victories. But he did not live long to enjoy his fame; he died at Babylon in the year 323 B. C.²

Alexander, indeed had failed in his territorial conquest of India, but he has a greater conquest to his credit. He had brought India into close contact with the Greeks. He had broken the great barrier, the Empire of Persia, which separated and prevented the Greeks from having direct communications with India and her people. His achievements were chronicled by eminent men of letters whom he brought with him,—men such as "Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who became king of Egypt; Aristobulus of Potidaea; Nearchus,

¹ Arrian. *Anabasis*. 6. 2; McD. p. 134.

² Arrian. *Anabasis*. 6. 1-28; McD. pp. 131-80; Q. Curtius. 9-10; McD. pp. 183-97; Smith. E. *Hist. of India*. pp. 109-10.

the admiral of Alexander's fleet; Onesikritus, the pilot of the fleet; Eumenes of Kardia, Alexander's Secretary; Chares of Mitylene; Kallisthenes, Aristotle's kinsman; Kleitarchus, son of Deinon of Rhodes; Polykleitus of Larissa; Anaximenes of Lampsakus; Diognetus and Baeton, the measurers of Alexander's marches; Kyrtilus of Pharsalus, and a few others"¹. These well-informed writers gave to the Western world a conception of India approximating the truth on points of such importance as her relative position to other countries and her physical features.

This, indeed, is a greater achievement for Alexander than that of conquering lands. Hitherto India was a mere land of fables to the Greeks, a *terra ignota* about which no one knew anything definite. Long before Alexander's invasion Skylax of Karyanda, by order of Darius, made a voyage in 517 B. C. down the Indus and thence to the head of the Red Sea near the modern Suez². But neither he nor Haekataeus of Miletus, who wrote a book on India at about the same time, left us any clear information about India except a few Indian names like Indus, Indi etc³. Herodotus wrote a book on India, about 430 B. C. But his knowledge of India was not very great. For him "India is the farthest parts of the inhabited world towards the east"⁴. In about the year 400 B. C. Ktesias, the Knidian, wrote his 'Indika' containing

¹ McE. p. xiv.

² Herodotus. 4. 44; McE. pp. 4-5.

³ Rawlinson. IIWW. p. 19.

⁴ Herodotus. 3. 106; McE p. 4.

all sorts of wonderful stories about India. This gave no new information. Hence it was left to Alexander and his companions to acquaint the West with details regarding the real state of things in India.

Although the information given by Alexander's companions refers chiefly to North-Western India, it also gives us glimpses of the South. For instance: "Onêsikritos says with regard to Taprobanê¹ that it has a magnitude of 5,000 stadia, without distinction of length or breadth; that it is distant from the mainland a voyage of twenty days, but that the vessels employed for the voyage sail badly owing to the wretched quality of their sails and to the peculiarity of their structure; that other islands lie between it and India, but that Taprobanê lies farthest to the south; that there are found around its shores cetaceous animals which are amphibious and in appearance like oxen, horses, and other land animals"². "Its elephants are larger and more bellicose than those of India"³.

1 This island changed its name with notable frequency. In the Ramayana it is called Lanka. The Greeks at first called it Antichthonos (Pliny 6. 22). In the time of Alexander it was called Taprobane. In Periplus it has the name Palai-Simoundou. Ptolemy calls it Salike. How long the island continued to be called Salike does not appear, but it was subsequently known by such names as Serendivus, Sîrlediba, Serendib, Zeilan, and Sallan, from which the transition to the modern name, Ceylon is easily noticable. (McC. pp. 251-2).

2 Strabo. 15. 1. 15; McE. p. 20. The original works of almost all the pre-Christian Greek writers are lost. But the extracts of their books appear in the writings of Strabo, Pliny and other later writers. Our quotations are from these.

3 Pliny. Nat. Hist. 6. 22(24); McE. p. 102.

Concerning India and its extent the companions of Alexander were not very well informed. In many respects the information they give is crude ; but it is nearer to the truth than that of previous writers like Herodotus and Ktesias. "Onêsikritos regards it as the third part of the habitable world, and Nearchos says that to traverse the plains only, occupies a journey of four months"¹.

"Aristoboulos, on comparing in what respects this country resembles Egypt and Ethiopia, and in what others it differs from them, and finding that while the Nile is flooded with the rains of the south, the Indian rivers are flooded from the north, inquires why the intermediate places have no rain ; for rain does not fall in the Thêbais as far as Syênê and the places near Meroê, nor in the parts of India between Patalênê and the Hydaspes. But in the country beyond, which has rain and snow, the land, he tells us, is cultivated very much in the same way as in the country without India, for it is supplied with moisture by the rains and snows"².

"Rice, according to Aristoboulos, stands in water and is sown in beds³. The plant is four cubits in height, has many ears, and yields a large produce. The time of its ingathering is about the setting of the Plêiades, and it is husked in the same way as barley"⁴. "Aristoboulos, speaking

1 Strabo. 15. 1. 12 ; McE. p. 18.

2 *Ibid.* 15. 1. 19 ; McE. pp. 24-5.

3 This is the practice still.

4 Strabo. 15. 1. 18 ; McE. p. 24.

of the wool-bearing trees, says that there is a stone within the flower-pod, and that when this is extracted the remainder is combed like wool"¹. "India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, produces cinnamon and spikenard and other aromatics"². Texts may be multiplied; but we consider it unnecessary to reproduce them all in this brief study.

(B)

THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE INVASION AND
THE GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

With the death of Alexander at Babylon in 323 B. C. his vast Empire was divided among his generals. Greek power in the Punjab and North-Western India did not last. Chandragupta Maurya soon after the death of Alexander liberated the Punjab from Greek domination³. But Seleukos Nikator "carried on many wars in the East after the division of the Makedonian kingdom between himself and the other successors of Alexander, first seizing Babylonia, and then reducing Baktrianê, his power being increased by the first success. Thereafter he passed into India, which had, since Alexander's death, killed its governors thinking thereby to shake off from its neck the yoke of slavery"⁴. But he met with the well-trained army of Chandragupta (Sandrokottos). Here the wise Seleukos came to terms with

¹ Strabo, 15. 1. 21; McE. p. 27.

² *Ibid.* 15. 1. 22; McE. p. 28. Note well how they distinguish between India, Arabia and Ethiopia.

³ Justin. Hist. Phil. 15. 4; McA. p. 9; McD. p. 327.

⁴ *Ibid.* 15. 4; McA. p. 9; McD. p. 327.

Chandragupta and gave some parts of Arianê "to Sandrokkotos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants"¹

This alliance was a lasting one. Owing to these friendly relations between the Greek king and the Indian Chandragupta, and again to the well ordered administration of the country and of the capital, many Greeks, especially merchants were attracted to the royal city of Pataliputra (Patna). For, there the foreigners were well received. Chandragupta's government had made all arrangements for entertaining foreign traders who came to his capital. He had appointed officers to "entertain strangers, assign them lodgings, observe their mode of life by means of the attendants whom they attach to them, and escort them out of the country, or, if they die, send home their property, take care of them in sickness, and when they die, bury them"²

In order to confirm and strengthen the already established alliance Seleukos, King of Syria in 302 B. C., sent Megasthenes who lived with Tiburtios, the satrap of Arachosia³ as ambassador to Chandragupta⁴. "Megasthenes remained for some time with the Indian kings, and wrote a history of Indian affairs, that he might hand down to posterity a faithful account of all that he had witnessed"⁵ Again during the reign of

¹ Strabo. 15. 2. 9; McE. p. 89.

² Strabo. 15. 1. 51; McE. p. 54.

³ Arrian. *Anabasis*. 5. 6; McA. p. 45.

⁴ Strabo. 15. 1. 36; McE. p. 43.

⁵ Solinus. 60; McA. p. 14.

Bindusāra, the son and successor of Chandragupta, Deimachos was sent by Antiochus Soter, the successor of Seleukos¹. He too remained with the Indian king and wrote a book².

Not only did the Syrian kings remain in friendly relations with India but also the Egyptian Ptolemies fostered the same relationships by sending an embassy to India. Thus Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an ambassador, Dionysios, to Pataliputra "to put the truth to the test by personal inspection"³. He also wrote a book on India.

The Indian kings in the meanwhile not only received ambassadors but in fact sent theirs and their Buddhist missionaries to preach in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.

This well-fostered political, commercial and religious relationship enabled the Greeks to know the real condition of India and her people. Besides the books already mentioned, Eratosthenes, the learned president of the Alexandrian Library from 240-196 B. C., wrote a book on India⁴ based on the information received from Patrokles who was in command of the eastern province of the Syrian Empire and who, according to Pliny, sailed even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian gates⁵.

1 McE. p. xv ; Smith. Ox. Hist. p. 76.

2 Strabo 15. 1. 12 ; McE. pp. 18-9.

3. Solinus. 60 ; McA. p. 14 ; Pliny. 6. 17(21) ; McE. p. 108.

4 McE. p. xvi ; Rawlinson. p. 93.

5 Pliny. 6. 17(21) ; McE. p. 108.

Thus the writings of all these Greek authors,—the companions of Alexander the Great and the above mentioned authors—furnished the Western world with a fair knowledge of the geography of India, her people and their customs. Megasthenes has defined the boundaries of India in these terms: "India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea, but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemôdos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Sakai, while *the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus*, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile". Eratosthenes has it in the following way: "India is bounded on the north from Ariana to the eastern sea by the extremities of the Tauros which the Macedonians call the Kaukasos, while the natives give distinctive names to the several parts, such as Paropamisos, Emôdos, and Imaôs, and others besides; *on the west it is bounded by the river Indus*; the southern and eastern sides are much greater than the others and project into the Atlantic ² Ocean, and the country becomes of the shape of a rhomboid, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite by 3,000 stadia; and this is the extent of the extremity common to the eastern and southern coast which projects equally on both

1 Diodorus Sic. 2. 35; McA. p. 30.

2 At the time when Strabo wrote, the name of the Atlantic was applied to the whole body of water by which the world was surrounded (McE.) p. 16.

sides beyond the rest of the coast". And Arrian quoting both these writers says : "They also say that India is bounded towards the east and the east wind as far as the south by the Great Sea, and towards the north by Mount Kaukasos, as far as its junction with the Tauros, while *the river Indus cuts it off from other countries towards the west and the north-west wind as far as the Great Sea*"².

Concerning the physical condition of India they speak as follows : "The larger portion of India is a plain, and this, as they conjecture, has been formed from the alluvial deposits of the rivers, just as in other countries plains which are not far off from the sea are generally formations of their respective rivers, a fact which explains why the names of such countries were applied of old to their rivers"³. "The whole of India is watered by rivers, some of which unite with the two greatest, the Indus and the Ganges, while others enter the Sea through mouths of their own. They all have their sources in the Kaukasos. At first they flow southward, but while some continue their course in this direction—those especially which fall into the Indus—others are diverted like the Ganges towards the east. This river, which is the largest in India, descends from the mountainous country and turns eastward upon its reaching the plains. Then flowing past Palibothra (Patna), a very large city, it pursues its way to the sea in that quarter and discharges into it by a single

1 Strabo. 15. 1. 11 ; McE. pp. 15-6.

2 Arrian. Anabasis. 5. 6 ; McD. p. 88.

3 Arrian. Anabasis, 5. 6 ; McD. pp. 88-9.

mouth¹. The Indus falls into the southern sea by two mouths², encompassing the country called Patalênô, which resembles the Delta in Egypt³.

The rainfall and the crops of the country are described thus: "By the vapours which ascend from so many rivers, and by the Etesian winds, India, as Eratosthenes states, is watered by the summer rains, and the level country is inundated. During the rainy season flax and millet, as well as sesamum, rice, and bosmoron are sown; and in the winter season wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculants with which we are unacquainted⁴.

"Nearly the same animals are bred in India as in Ethiopia and Egypt, and the Indian rivers produce all the animals found in the rivers of these countries, except the hippopotamus, although Onêsikritos affirms that even these animals are found in them⁵.

Again with regard to the men they say that "the men of the south resemble the Ethiopians in their complexion, but in their face and in their hair they are like other people; for their hair does not curl on account of the moistness of the atmosphere. The men of the north again are like the Egyptians⁶. "They cover their persons down to

1 Ptolemy (150 A. D.) assigns five mouths to the Ganges.

2 Ptolemy gives seven mouths to the Indus.

3 Strabo. 15. 1. 13; McE. p. 19.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid*; McE. pp. 19-20.

6 Strabo. 15. 1. 13; McE. p. 20. Note how well the Greeks distinguish between the Indians, Ethiopians and Egyptians.

the feet with fine muslin, are shod with sandals, and coil round their heads cloths of linen (cotton). They hang precious stones as pendants from their ears, and persons of high social rank, or of great wealth, deck their wrist and upper arm with bracelets of gold. They frequently comb, but seldom cut, the hair of their head. The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished. The luxury of their kings, or as they call it, their magnificence is carried to a vicious excess without a parallel in the world"¹.

Although there is not much direct evidence of intercourse between the Greeks and S. India, still there are clear indications to show that the Greeks knew as much about the South as about the North. This is evident from the passages already given above and from the following: "They say that Taprobanê is an island lying out in the sea, distant from the most southern parts of India which are next to the country of the Kôniakoi, a seven days' voyage to southward, and extending about 8,000 stadia in the direction of Ethiopia. It too produces elephants"². "And from Megasthenes we learn that it is divided by a

1 Q. Curtius, *Alex.* 8. 9 ; McD. p. 188.

2 Strabo, 15. 1. 14 ; McE. p. 20. Pomponius Mela calls the southern portion of India which projects into the sea by the name of Kolis. There is great probability that Koniakoi is the corrupt form of Koliakoi. Kolis is derived from the Sanskrit Koti—end or tip.

river¹, and that its inhabitants are called Paleogoni, and that it is more productive of gold and pearls of a great size than India itself. Eratosthenes has also given us its dimensions as 7,000 stadia in length and 5,000 stadia in breadth, while he states that it has no cities, but villages to the number of seven hundred. The sea between the island and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth, but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end to obviate the necessity of their turning about in channels of extreme narrowness. The tonnage of these vessels is 3,000 amphorae. In making sea-voyages, the Taprobanê mariners make no observations of the stars, and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them, but they take birds out to the sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land"².

Such, then, is the information we gather from the Greek writers of the Pre-Christian period. From this it is clear that the Greeks knew very well where India was and what its boundaries were. They also knew the different animals and plants of India. Her people and their different social customs were in like manner not unknown to them. India was no longer a *terra ignota* for the people of the West.

1 This is the Mahaweli-Ganga which passes through Kandy and flows into the Trincomali Gulf.

2 Pliny. 6. 22(24) ; McE. pp. 102-3,

II.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

A

ROME'S CONTACT WITH INDIA ;
GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

With the death of Asoka in 232 B. C. began the decline and downfall of the glorious Maurya Empire. Very little is known about the successors of Asoka except that he was succeeded by his two grandsons who divided the kingdom among themselves. Brihadratha, the last of the Maurya kings, however, was assassinated by Phushymitra in 185 B. C. Subsequent to this incident, wars and invasions succeeded one another in Northern India, kingdoms such as that of Demetrius, Menander and many others rose and fell and passed into oblivion during the two centuries that intervened between the death of Asoka and the coming of Christ. During this period the Greek rule of N.-W. India and Baktria came to an end.

This was hastened by the rise of the Arsakidan dynasty of Parthia, which was founded by Arsakes, a chief of Parthia, during the reign of the weak and effeminate Antiochus II, the second successor of Seleukos. The Parthian power gradually extended eastward until it occupied the parts formerly possessed by the old Achaemenian Empire of Persia. This new Parthian Empire formed again a sort of barrier between the Greeks and the Indians. Owing to this intermediary power bet-

ween the two nations communications became less frequent. Consequently very few writers wrote on India and her people during the period that immediately preceded the Christian era.

While these developments were taking place in the East, great changes took place in the West. "Rome was absorbing the remnants of the Empire of Alexander. Syria had already fallen: Egypt became a Roman province in 30 B. C. The dissensions of the civil war ended at Actium, after which Augustus settled down to organise and regulate his vast possessions"¹. "The successive conquests and spoliation of all the Mediterranean peoples had brought to Rome treasures as yet unexampled, and a taste for the precious things of the East was developed almost over-night. The public triumphs of the conquerors of Asia Minor and Syria glittered with new treasures, for which the people clamoured"². Money was plentiful, and as piracy was put down and trade-routes secured, merchants flocked thither from all quarters. And if they could have gone on like this Rome would have been the centre of exchange to the whole world. But the defeat of Crassus and Antony by the Parthians limited the Roman dominion to the banks of the Euphrates. Hence all the rich trade that flowed to Rome had to pay its tolls to the Empire of Parthia and to the Arab kingdoms until Rome could develop and control a sea-borne trade to India."

¹ Rawlinson, IIWW. p. 101.

² Schoff, Introduction p. 5.

Hitherto, Egypt under the Ptolemies had not developed a sea-borne trade with India¹. The Egyptian ships came only as far as Arabia Eudaemon (Aden), because "in the early days of the city when the voyage was not yet made from India to Egypt, and when they did not dare to sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes from both countries, just as Alexandria now (77 A. D.) receives the things brought both from abroad and from Egypt². But now the Romans, being checked on the land route to India, were forced to open a sea route, and for this they began to put all their energy into action.

Success for the Romans meant the ruin of the Arab traders. But the Arabs were on the look out. No information was allowed to reach the merchants in Egypt. Every device the imagination could create was directed towards discouraging the least disturbance of the customary channels of trade. Moreover in an unknown ocean, with only the vaguest ideas of the sources of the products they sought, and of the routes that led to them, it might have been many years before a Roman vessel, coasting along hostile shores, could reach the goal. But accidents favoured Roman ambition. The new kingdom of Auxum, smarting under the treatment of its former neighbours in Arabia, was courting Roman alliance. The old trading-posts at Guardafui, formerly under Arab control, were

¹ Strabo. 2. 5. 12; McE. p. 98.

² Periplus, 26; Schoff. p. 32.

now free because of the quarrels of their overlords ; and their markets were open to those who might seek them. In addition, the entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under Aelius Gallus¹ made traffic more secure for the Romans.

All these incidents helped the Romans to put their own vessels to sea and to set sail for India. Hence already at the time of Augustus, about 5 A. D., Strabo could write in these terms about the Roman ships going to India. "I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos to India"². These ships, in fact, did not go across the Indian ocean to India, but along the coastal waters of Arabia and Karmania to the Indus mouth, and then to Barygaza and to the ports in the southern parts of the peninsula³.

The Romans, however, were not satisfied with this circuitous route to S. India. They wanted a direct one, for which new attempts were made. Already at the time of Augustus the South Indian king, Pandion, sent an embassy to Augustus, the Roman Emperor⁴. Again in the time of Emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.) ambassadors were sent to Rome by the king of Ceylon. "A freedman of Annius Plocamus", says Pliny, "who had farmed

1 Strabo. 2. 5. 12 ; McE. p. 98.

2 *Ibid.* Myos-Hormos was at the head of the Red Sea.

3 Periplus, 57 ; Schoff. p. 45.

4 Strabo 15. 1. 4 ; McE. p. 9.

from the treasury the Red Sea revenues, while sailing around Arabia was carried away by gales of wind from the north beyond Carmania. In the course of fifteen days he had been wafted to Hippuri, a port of Taprobanê, where he was humanely received and hospitably entertained by the king; and having in six months' time learned the language, he was able to answer the questions he was asked. The king particularly admired the Romans and their emperor as men possessed of an unheard-of love of justice, when he found that among the money taken from the captive the denarii were all of equal weight, although the different images stamped on them showed that they had been coined in the reigns of several emperors. This influenced him most of all to seek an alliance with the Romans, and he accordingly despatched to Rome four ambassadors, of whom the chief was Rachia (*i. e.* Rajah)¹. The information obtained from these ambassadors and from the freedman helped the Romans in their enterprise. An epoch-making discovery was made at this time (47 A. D.) by a Roman merchant named Hippalus. This venturesome man observed the periodic change of the Indian monsoon and boldly set sail at the proper time. He made a very successful voyage across the sea to India and returned². From the time of this discovery the Roman ships began to sail straight across the sea to India. "In later times", says Pliny, "it has been considered a well-

1 Pliny. 6. 22(24); McE. pp. 103-4.

2 Periplus, 57; Schoff. p. 45.

ascertained fact that the voyage from Syagrus, the Promontory of Arabia, to Patala, reckoned at thirteen hundred and thirty-five miles, can be performed most advantageously with the aid of a westerly wind, which is there known by the name of Hippalus¹.

This route still remained long and circuitous. Hence venturesome attempts were again made by daring seamen until "the age that followed", continues Pliny, "pointed out a shorter route, and a safer one to those who might happen to sail from the same promontory for Sigerus², a port in India; and for a long time this route was followed, until at last a still shorter cut was discovered by a merchant, and the thirst for gain brought India even still nearer to us. At the present day voyages are made to India every year;....."³.

Let us now follow Pliny in his narrative of the route from Alexandria to India. "Two miles distant from Alexandria is the town of Juliopolis. The distance thence to Coptos, up the Nile, is three hundred and eight miles; the voyage is performed, when the Etesian winds are blowing, in twelve days. From Coptos the journey is made with the aid of camels, stations being arranged at intervals for the supply of fresh water. The first of these stations is called Hydreuma (watering-

1 Pliny, 6, 23(26); Schoff, p. 232; McE. p. 111.

2 Sigerus appears as Meli-Zeigara in Periplus, 53; and as Mili-Zegyris or Mili-Zigeris in Ptolemy, 6. 1. 95. The place was somewhere near Bombay.

3 Pliny. *Ibid*; Schoff, p. 232; McE. p. 111.

place), and is distant twenty-two miles ; the second is situate on a mountain, at a distance of one day's journey from the last ; the third is at a second Hydreuma distant from Coptos ninety-five miles ; the fourth is on a mountain ; the next to that is another Hydreuma, that of Apollo, and is distant from Coptos one hundred and eighty-four miles ; after which, there is another on a mountain. There is then another station at a place called the New Hydreuma, distant from Coptos two hundred and thirty miles ; and next to it there is another, called the old Hydreuma, or the Troglodytic, where a detachment is always on guard, with a caravansary that affords lodging for two thousand persons. This last is distant from the New Hydreuma seven miles. After leaving it we come to the city of Berenice, situate upon a harbour of the Red Sea and distant from Coptos two hundred and fifty-seven miles. The greater part of this distance is generally travelled by night, on account of the extreme heat, the days being spent at the stations ; in consequence of which it takes twelve days to perform the whole journey from Coptos to Berenice".

"Passengers' generally set sail at midsummer before the rising of the Dog-star, or else immediately after, and in about thirty days arrive at Ocelis in Arabia, or else at Cana, in the region which bears frankincense. There is also a third port of Arabia, Muza by name ; it is not, however, used by persons on their passage to India, as only those touch at it who deal in incense and the perfumes

of Arabia.....To those who are bound for India, Ocelis is the best place for embarkation. If the wind, called Hippalus, happens to be blowing, it is possible to arrive in forty days at the nearest mart in India, Muziris by name. This, however, is not a very desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias¹; nor, in fact, is it very rich in articles of merchandise. Besides, the road-stead for shipping is a considerable distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be conveyed in boats, either for loading or discharging. At the moment that I am writing these pages, the name of the king of this place is Caelobothras². Another port, and a much more convenient one, is that which lies in the territory of the people called Neacyndi, Barace³ by name. Here king Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a considerable distance from the mart in the interior, at a city known as Modiera (Madura). The district from which pepper is carried

¹ Nitrias was the town situated on the Netravati river of S. Kanara. Pliny seems to have been misinformed regarding Muziris. For, the Author of the Periplus, who had been to Muziris in the same year (A. D. 77) in which Pliny published his book, says: "Muziris, of the same kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks" (Peri. 54). And again he adds that Muziris and Neacynda are now of leading importance (Peri. 53).

The pirate coast was that part which lies north of Mangalore and south of Bombay.

² Caelobothras. The correct form is Keralaputra or Keraputra.

³ Barace. Ptolemy and the Author of the Periplus spell this name as Bakare (Bacare). But Barace seems to be the correct rendering of the vernacular name of Purakad, a place some 6 miles south of Alleppey, Travancore. Barace—Barake.

down to Barace in boats hollowed out of a single tree, is known as Cottonara"¹.

Concerning the return journey, Pliny thus continues: "Travellers set sail from India on their return to Europe, at the beginning of the Egyptian month of Tybis, which is our December, or at all events before the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechir, the same as our Ides of January; if they do this they can go and return in the same year. They set sail from India with a south-east wind, and upon entering the Red Sea, catch the south-west or south"².

Muziris (Cranganore) and Barace were the chief ports of the time from which a great quantity of pepper, the chief product of Malabar³, and other wares such as "great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell"⁴ were transported to Europe. And for this reason "they send large ships to these market-towns"⁵.

¹ Cottonara is the Hellenised form of the vernacular name Kuttanad. In former times this name was applied even to the places east of the present Kuttanad in North Central Travancore. (Ullur, p. 206).

² Pliny, 6. 23(26); Schoff. pp. 232—4; McE. pp. 111-2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This is the idea expressed by the Author of the Periplus. "There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara" (Peri. 56). And Cosmas in the 6th century adds: "Male where pepper grows" (b. 3); "Male which has five marts that export pepper" (*Ibid.*).

⁵ Periplus, 56; Schoff. p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.* 56; p. 44.

Great was the effect of this vigorous trade with India. Pepper, for instance, was in great demand in Rome at the time of Pliny (A. D. 23-79) — This we gather from his own writings : "It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that in other substances which we use, it is sometimes their sweetness, and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India! Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man that was not content to prepare himself by hunger only for the satisfying of a greedy appetite?"¹ Yet, in spite of Pliny's complaints this demand for pepper continued in Roman circles. The continued use of it in cooking raised its price to 15 denarii a pound for long pepper, 7 for the white, and 4 for the black pepper².

This vigorous trade in pepper and other spices of India began to drain the Roman Empire of its wealth. Pliny is stupefied at the thought of this drainage. He says: "The subject (of setting forth the whole route from Egypt to India) is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain our empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces, giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold among

1 Pliny, 12. 7(14); Schoff. p. 214; McE. pp. 121-2.

2 *Ibid.* 12. 7(14); Schoff. *ibid.* : McE. *ibid.*

us at fully one hundred times their prime cost"¹. And in another place: "At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres, and the Arabian peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million of sesterces; so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women"². And again he adds: "Both pepper and ginger grow wild in their respective countries, and yet here we buy them by weight like gold and silver"³. The Author of the *Periplus* also remarks that "there are imported here (the Malabar Ports), in the first place, a great quantity of coin;....."⁴.

This constant flow of money from Rome into the ports of India accounts for the vast number of Roman coins found in S. India. "The coins of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero are numerous. There are very few of Vespasian and Titus anywhere in India. Those of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian are frequent; then there comes another break lasting until the time of Commodus"⁵.

The active trade was not only with the South. It extended from the Southern tip of India to the mouth of the Indus in the North and the countries inland. Among the ports in the North, Barygaza (Broach) on the Narmada river was the most frequented. It was the rival of Muziris. A slight perusal of the *Periplus* will give us a fairly good

1 Pliny, 6. 23(26); Schoff. p. 232.

2 Pliny, 12. 18(41); McE. p. 125.

3 *Ibid.* 12. 7(14); McE. p. 122.

4 *Periplus*, 56; Schoff. p. 44.

5 Schoff. p. 220.

idea of the trade in the North. "And ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across this sea, from Ariaka and Barygaza, bringing to these far-side market-towns (of the Somali coast) the products of their own places: wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, (the *monachê** and the *sagmatogênê**), and girdles, and honey from the reed called *sachhari*". "And the whole place (muza) is crowded with Arab shipowners and seafaring men, and is busy with the affairs of commerce; for they carry on a trade with the far-side coast and with Barygaza, sending their own ships there"². "To both these market-towns (Apologus and Ommana) large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza, loaded with copper and sandalwood and timbers of teakwood and logs of blackwood and ebony..... From each of these market-towns, there are exported to Barygaza and also to Arabia, pearls, but inferior to those of India; purple clothing after the fashion of the place, wine, a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves"³. "There are imported into this market-town (Barygaza), wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright coloured girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the

1 Periplus, 14; Schoff, p. 27.

2 *ibid.* 21; p. 30.

3 Periplus, 36; Schoff, p. 36.

money of the country ; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the King there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns"¹.

Not only with the coastal towns of India but also with the towns in the interior did the Romans exchange their goods. "There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast"². And from Ozene (Ujjain), the Malwa capital, "are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for our trade : agate and carnelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth. Through this same region and from the upper country is brought the spikenard that comes through Poclais ; that is, the Caspapyrene and Paropanisene and Cabolitic and that brought through the adjoining country of Scythya ; also costus and bdellium"³.

1 *Ibid.* 49 ; p. 42.

2 *Ibid.* 51 ; p. 4.

3 *Ibid.* 48 ; p. 42.3

The commercial relations thus established between the Roman Empire and India steadily increased from the time of Augustus until the outburst of extravagance during the time of Nero, whose coins were very numerous in India. After this there was a lull in the demand of Indian commodities but the demand seems to have risen high again during the time of Hadrian whose coins too were found in great numbers. Without much variation this demand continued. This is evident from the writings of Claudius Ptolemy who wrote his Geography of India from information collected from traders who were in India for a long time.¹

Commerce was carried on both by land and sea. The land route from N. India reached Ktesiphon *via* Persia. "At Ktesiphon it branched off in several directions, the main track running through Mesopotamia, crossing the Tigris by the famous flying bridge between Zeugma and Apamea, and ending at the port of Antioch. Another important branch of the road ran to Palmyra, and then to Damascus, Gaza, Tyre and Sidon, and joined the network of highways which converged at Petra"². Most of the seaborne trade that came up the Red Sea found its way to Alexandria by way of Berenice, Coptos and the Nile, but some "merchandise is conveyed from Leuce Come to Petra, thence to Rhinocolura in Phoenicea near Egypt, and thence to other nations"³.

1 Ptolemy. 1.17.3 ; McC. p. 29.

2 Raw.. p. 128 ; Pliny, 5. 24 ; 6. 28. 144.

3 Strabo. 16. 4. 24 ; McE. p. 101.

Although we have no explicit records like those of Pliny, Strabo and Periplus we have sufficient indications to suppose that the commercial relations between the two countries continued to exist. It is evident from the coins of Septimus Severus (193-211), Geta (211-12) and Caracalla (212-17) found in India¹ that the Romans frequented both the northern and southern ports of India. Barygaza seems to have become a less important emporium for the Romans after the first century of our era. Muziris, on the other hand had become so important for them that early in the third century a temple of Augustus was erected in the city². Muziris is still mentioned in the latter half of the fourth century by St. Ambrose of Milan (333-397) as the important, nay the only port of importance on this side of the Ganges—"Totius Indiae citra Gangem emporium"³. This fact is also evident from the amount of coins found in Madura⁴ both of Arcadius (395-408), Emperor of the East, and of Honorius (395-423), Emperor of the West. Besides, pepper was still in demand in Rome for, Gibbon in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" tells us "that among the ransom demanded by Alaric, was 3,000 pounds of pepper"⁵. This is also confirmed by St. Jerome (342-420) when he says that "pulegium

1 Sewell, JRAS, 1904, p. 602.

2 Rawl. p. 121, quoting Peutinger Tables

3 Ambrose. De Moribus Brach; ML. 17. 1133.

4 Sewell, JRAS. p. 631-4.

5 Rawlinson, p. 102; Schoff. p. 214; Gibbon, 3. 427; Sewell, p. 608.

(pennyroyal) is more precious to the Indians than pepper¹².

The sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, in 410 A. D. and the subsequent political changes in Rome created a sort of lull in the demand for Indian articles. Hence during the early decades of the fifth century the maritime trade of India seems to have languished a little.

But this state of things was not to remain for ever. Conditions changed and the seaborne trade with India revived. This is testified to by Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. 520 A. D.), the Alexandrian who made extensive voyages in the Arabian sea and visited Ceylon, the western coasts of India and the coasts of Arabia. He says: "As its (Ceylon's) position is central, the island is a great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it despatches many of its own to foreign ports. And from the inner countries I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clove-wood, sandal wood and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Male, where pepper grows, and to Kalliana, where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade, and to Sindu also where musk or castor is got, as well as Androstachus, and to Persia and the Homerite country (Arabia Felix), and to Adoul.... The

¹² Epist. 146 Ad Evangelium, 2; ML. 22. 1194. "Pulegium apud Indos pipere pretiosus est". Pulegium is the Roman pennyroyal.

following are the most famous commercial marts in India:—Sindu, Orrhothra, Kalliana, Sibor, Male, which has five marts that export pepper, Parti, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana"¹. The incident narrated by Cosmas about the discussion between the Persian and the Roman Sopater at the court of the Ceylon king at the time of Cosmas' visit to Ceylon shows that the Romans were still frequenting the ports of India². Besides, the coins of Theodosius (408-450), Marcian (450-57), Leo (457-74), Zeno (474-91), Anastasius (491-518) and Justin (518), found in India³ give the same line of evidence. There is, thus, every indication that the trade between Rome and India continued throughout these centuries until the capture of Alexandria in 641 A. D. by Muslims and the Muslim domination in the East.

During these early centuries philosophers as well as traders frequented the towns of India. Apollonius of Tyana seems to be the best known in the first century of our era⁴. In the fourth century we meet such names as Metrodorus, Meropius, Frumentius, Edesius⁵ and Museus, bishop of Doleni⁶, who followed in the wake of Apollonius. Even pilgrims visited India. One

¹ Cosmas, *Christian Topography*, 11; McE. pp. 160-1; MG. 88. 445-8.

² *Ibid.* MG. 88. 448-9.

³ Sewell, *JRAS*, 1904, p. 608-9.

⁴ Eusebius. The book against Herocles, 10; MG. 22. 796. 29; Jerome. *epist.* 531. *Ad Paulinum*, 1; ML. 22. 541; McE. pp. 191-5.

⁵ Rufinus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 9; *De captivitate Frumentii*; ML. 21. 478; Socrates. *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 19; MG. 67. 125-9.

⁶ Ambrose. *De Moribus Brach.*; ML. 17. 1133.

in particular is noteworthy, namely, Theodore who visited India in the sixth century and recounted his travels to St. Gregory of Tours¹.

Accounts emphasise principally the missions of ambassadors from Indian Kings to the court of Rome. "And to Trajan after he had arrived in Rome there came a great many embasies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians, and he offered showsin which wild beasts without number were slaughtered, because Trajan made the deputies who came from the kings to sit in the seats of the senators when viewing the show". "Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents....which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great)"². "Embassies from all quarters flocked to him (the Emperor Julian in 351 A. D.), the Indian nations vying with emulous zeal in sending their foremost men with presents, as far as from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Ceylonese)"³. "Yea, even the Indians, Baktrians, Hyrcanians sent ambassadors, having had knowledge of the justice of a prince so mighty (of the Emperor Julian)"⁴.

All these intercommunications supplied the people of Europe with sufficient means to know India and her people. Pliny, for instance, has supplied them with the 'Natural History' contain-

1 Gregory of Tours, *ML.* 71. 733-4.

2 Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rome.* 9. 58 ; *McE.* p. 213.

3 Eusebius. *The life of Constantine.* 4. 50 ; *McE.* p. 254 ; *MG.* 20, 1200.

4 Ammianus Marcellinus, 22. 7. 10 ; *McE.* p. 213.

5 Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Epist.* 16 ; *McE.* p. 213.

ing elaborate descriptions of the Indian people¹, their animals², their plants³ and minerals⁴. Ptolemy, in the second century gave them the locations of 27 river mouths, 40 coastal towns, 199 inland cities, 8 royal cities, 6 metropolises, 13 market-towns and emporiums, 7 mountain ranges and 24 rivers. Besides these, the Geography of Strabo, the works of Aelian, Porphyrios, Johannes Stobaios, Dion Chrysostom, Megasthenese, Deimachos, Dionysius and others were at the disposal of those who wished to consult them. It is, therefore, clear that the people in Europe had ample means to hear and form correct ideas regarding India and the other countries of the East.

We have already given in the first part of this study the boundaries of India as defined by Megasthenese and Eratosthenes. Now those given by Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, Paul Orosius, Cosmas and St. Isidore of Seville may be cited. These will further illustrate how well the Greeks and the Romans knew the geographical position of India. Pliny says: "But where the chain of Hemodus rises the communities are settled, and the nations of India, which begin there, adjoin not only the eastern sea but also the southern, which we have already mentioned under the name of the Indian Ocean. That part which faces the east runs in a straight line to the bend where the Indian Ocean

1 Pliny, book. 6.

2 *Ibid.* b. 8.

3 *Ibid.* b. 12.

4 *Ibid.* bs. 31-33, 35, 37.

begins, and measures 1875 miles. Then from this bend to the south up to *the river Indus, which forms the western boundary of India*, the distance, as given by Eratosthenes, is 2475 miles"¹. Arrian: "Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Tauros, though the range does not retain that name in these parts.....*On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus* all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths.... On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east"². Ptolemy writes: "India within the Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropanisadae and Arakhosia and

1 *Ibid.* 6. 17 (21); McE. p. 107.

Pliny has also this entry in his next para: "Many writers, however, do not give the river Indus as the western boundary of India, but include within it four satrapies,—the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, Paropamisadae, making the river Cophes its furthest limit; though others prefer to consider all these as belonging to the Arii "[6. (23); McA. pp. 151-2]. This fact is also mentioned by Arrian in his *Indika* I.

Here we have to keep in mind that these writers are giving the opinions of certain pre-Christian writers. By the treaty between Seleukos and Chandragupta (Strabo, 15. 2. 9; McE. pp. 88-9) parts of these four satrapies were added to the kingdom of Chandragupta. Hence during the Mauryan rule these same parts were considered as belonging to India. These, in fact, did not belong to India geographically but only politically or racially. This is why Arrian and Pliny correct the wrong opinions of certain previous writers by giving the geographical boundary of India with the river Indus on the West.

2 Arrian. *Indika*, 2; McA. pp. 181-3.

Gedrosia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaos along the Sogdiaioi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by a portion of the Indian Ocean". Paul Orosius (+417): "Asia, towards the middle front of the Orient, has the mouths of the river Ganges and on the left the promontory of Caligardamna; below this towards the S. East lies the island of Taprobane, whence the Ocean begins to be called the Indian. On the right Asia has the Imai mountains; where the Caucasus ends it has the promontory of Samarum; below this towards the North lie the mouths of the river Octorogorra, whence the ocean is named the Seric. On these frontiers is *India having on the West the river Indus* which is received by the Mare Rubrum²; on the North, India has the Caucasus mountain; the rest (as I said above) is bounded by the Eastern and Indian Ocean"³. Cosmas (6th

¹ Ptolemy, 7. 1; McC. p. 33.

Ptolemy, in fact, has included the immediate borderland of the Indus, on its western bank, as belonging to India. Here again, we have to distinguish between the geographical and the political or racial boundaries. Ever since the time of Ptolemy in 150 A. D. and even before him the Indus was always understood to be the western geographical boundary of India. Cfr. Other writers given in this treatise.

² Mare Rubrum was the name given to the Arabian Sea by the Romans; the Greeks called it the Erythraean Sea. Erythra-Rubrum-Red.

³ Orosius. *Historiarum liber.* 1. 2; ML. 31. 675-6; Vindobon 5. 12-3.

"Asia ad mediam frontem orientis habet in Oceano Eoo ostia fluminis Gangis, a sinistra promontorium Caligardamna, cui subjacet ad Eurum insula Taprobane: e qua oceanus Indicus vocari incipit, a dextra habet Imai montes, ubi Caucasus deficit, promontorium Samarum: cui ad aquilonem subjacet

cent.) says : "Sindu, however, is the beginning of India ; for, *the river Inaus* which is the Phison¹ and which has mouths in the Persian Gulf, *divides Persia from India*"². And finally St. Isidore of Seville (?-638) says : "India derives its name from *the river Indus, by which it is enclosed on the West*. It stretches out from the southern sea to the rising of the sun, and it extends on the North as far as the Caucasus³ mountain. It has many nations,

ostia fluminis Octorogorae : ex quo oceanus Sericus appellatur. In his finibus India est, quae habet ab occidente flumen Indum, quod Rubro mari excipitur : a septentrione montem Caucasum : reliqua (ut dixi) Eoo et Indico Oceano terminatur".

1 Phison. There was a tendency among the yearly 4-5 century Ecclesiastical writers to identify the 4 rivers mentioned in the book of Genesis with the then known rivers of the East. As for the Euphrates and Tigris there was no difficulty; Geon too was easy to identify. But for Phison it was not so easy. These Ecclesiastical writers knew that the Ganges and the Indus are the great rivers of India. For some reasons unknown to us, the Greeks began to identify the Phison with the Indus, while the Latins identified it with the Ganges. This identification was strictly kept up by almost all the later Greeks and Latins.

2 Cosmas. Christian Topography. 12 ; MG. 88. 448.

3 For Isidore Caucasus signifies snowy mountain ; for, he says : *Mons Caucasus ab India usque ad Taurum porrectus, pro gentium ac linguarum varietate, quoquoersum vadit, diversis nominibus nuncupatur. Ubi autem ad Orientem in excelsiorem consurgit sublimitatem, propter nivium candorem Caucasus nuncupatur. Nam Orientali lingua Caucasum significat candidum, id est, nivibus densissimis candicantem. Unde et eum Scythae, qui eidem monti junguntur Croacasini vocaverunt. Casim enim apud eos candor, sive nix dicitur*" (ML. 82. 521 ; Etymol. liber 14. 8. 2).

towns and also the island of Taprobane which is filled with elephants. It has (the islands of) Chryse and Argyra which are rich in gold and silver, and also (the island of) Tyle which is never wanting in foliage. It has both the rivers Ganges and Indus and Hypasis which make the Indian famous"¹.

B

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA AND ARABIA FELIX.

Frequently scholars of the West, writing on the 'Early Christianity of India' have made the following typical statement: "'India' was a name applied indifferently by Greek and Latin writers to Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, Parthia, Persia, and the lands of the Medes...."². Early Greek and Latin authors, on the contrary, have very clearly defined, like those of India, the boundaries of Persia and Arabia Felix. "Arianê (Iran), he (Eratosthenes) says, is bounded *on the east by the Indus*, on the south by the Great Sea, on the north by the Paropamisos and the mountains which continue it, as far as the Kaspian Gates, and on the west by the same limits as separate Parthyênê from Mêdia and Karmania from Paraitakênê and Persis"³. Strabo: "Next to India is Arianê, the first portion of the country subject to the Persians,

¹ Isidore. Etymologiarum liber: 14. 3. 5-6; ML. 82. 497.

"India vocata ab Indo flumine, quo ex parte occidentali clauditur: hæc a Meridiano mari porrecta usque ad ortum solis, et a septentrione usque ad montem Caucasum perveniens, habens gentes multas, et oppida, insulam quoque Taprobanam elephantis referiam, Chrysen et Argyram auro, argentoque fecundas, Tylum quoque arborum foliis nunquam carentem. Habet et fluvios Gangem et Indum et Hypasin illustrantes Indos".

² Thurston & Attwater. BLS. p. 289. This is a typical assertion.

³ Strabo, 15. 2. 8; McE. p. 86.

lying beyond the river Indus, and the first also of the upper Satrapies without the Tauros. It is bounded on the north by the same mountains as India, and on the south by the same sea and the same river, *the Indus which forms the boundary between itself and India*. It stretches thence towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Kaspian Gates to Karmania, so that its shape is quadrilateral. The southern side begins at the mouth of the Indus and Patalênê, and terminates at Karmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, in a cape which projects a good distance southwards (Koh Mubarak, Cape Carpella). It then makes a bend in the direction of Persis"¹. Orosius writes: "From the river Indus, which is in the East as far as the river Tigris which is in the West these are the regions: Aracosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persia and Media. (They are) mountainous and rugged. They have on the North mount Caucasus, on the South Mare Rubrum and the Persian Gulf; the chief rivers Hydaspes and Arbis are in the middle of these. In these there are 32 tribes. But generally the country is called Parthia, although Holy Scripture calls the whole Media"². And

¹ *Ibid.* 15. 2. 1; McE. pp. 80-1.

² Orosius. Hist. Lib. 1. 2; ML. 31. 676-7; Vindobon. 5. 13. "A flumine Indo quod est aboriente, usque ad flumen Tigrim, quod est ad occasum, regiones sunt istae: Aracosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persis et Media: situ terrarum montoso et aspero. Hae a septentrione habent montem Caucasum, a meridie mare Rubrum et sinum Persicum: in medio autem sui flumina praecipua Hydaspem et Arhim. In his sunt gentes triginta duae. Sed generaliter Parthia dicitur, quantumvis Scripturae sanctae universam saepe Mediam vocent."

Isidore of Seville : "From the frontiers of India as far as Mesopotamia (the land) is generally called Parthia. On account of the unconquered strength of the Parthians both Assyria and other neighbouring regions changed their names to that of Parthia. There are, therefore, in it Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Media, and Persia, which being united to one another begin from the river Indus and are enclosed by the Tigris. They are mountainous and rugged having the rivers Hydaspes and Arbis. They are separated by their own boundaries, bearing such names as given by their own authors".

"Arbia Felix", says Ptolemy, "is bounded on the North exposing its flanks to the southern sides of Petra and the desert of Arabia and to the northern part of the Persian Gulf ; and on the West by the Arabian Gulf ; on the South by the Erythraean Sea ; on the East by a part of the Persian Gulf and the sea which flows from its shore up to the promontory of Syagrus". This idea was already

1 Isidore. *Etymol.* Liber. 14.3-8; *ML.* 82. 497. "Parthia ab Indiae finibus usque ad Mesopotamiam genera liter nominatur. Propter invictam enim virtutem Parthorum et Assyria et relique proximae regiones in ejus nomen transierunt. Sunt enim in ea Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Media et Persia : quae regiones invicem sibi conjunctae initium ab Indo flumine sumunt, Tigri clauduntur, locis montuosis, et asperioribus sitae, habentes fluvios Hydaspem et Arbem ; sunt enim inter se finibus suis discretae, nomina a propriis auctoribus ita trahentes".

2 Ptolemy. 6. 6. 1; *Chrest.* p. 32. "Arabia Felix terminatur a septentrionibus expositis lateribus, meridionalibus Petraeae et Desertae Arabiae, et parti australi Persici Sinus ; ab occasu Sino Arabico ; a meridie Mari Rubro ; ab oriente parti Persici Sinus. et mari, quod ab ore ipsius effunditur, usque Syagrum Promontorium".

expressed by Strabo¹, and by the Author of the *Periplus*². Pliny speaks of Arabia Felix thus : "This peninsula of Arabia stretches between two seas, the Red Sea and the Persian Sea ; by some disposition of nature it is surrounded by the sea to the likeness and extension of Italy, and its orientation is absolutely in the same direction ; in that position it is also prosperous"³. Pomponius Mela : "Arabia, called the Happy, is said to be a narrow strip of land, but very rich in sinnamon, incense and other perfumes. The Sabaeans hold the greater part (of the country) ; the Maceans the other part near the entrance (of the sea) and opposite to the Carmanians.... The Arabs surround the other Gulf on all sides"⁴. Orosius : "From the river Tigris as far as the river Euphrates is Mesopotamia which begins from the north between the mountains Taurus and Caucasus. To this is adjoined Babylonia towards the South, then Chaldea and finally Arabia Felix. This is a narrow strip of land extending towards the East between the Persian and

¹ Strabo. 16. 4. 1-27 ; Chrest. pp. 9-17 ; Strabo. 15. 2. 14 ; McE. p. 92.

² *Periplus*, 19-37 ; Schoff. pp. 29-36.

³ Pliny. 6. 143 ; Chrest. p. 18. "Ipsa vero paeninsula Arabia inter duo maria Rubrum Persicumque procurrens, quidam naturae artificio ad similitudinem atque magnitudinem Italiae mari circumfusa, in eandem etiam caeli partem nulla differentia spectat, haec quoque in illo situ felix."

⁴ Pomponius Mela. *De Chronographia*. 3. 79-80 ; Chrest. p. 24. "Arabia dicitur, cognomen Eudaemon, angusto, verum cinnami et turis aliorumque odorum maxime ferax. Maiorem Sabaei tenent partem, ostio proximam et Carmaniis contrariam Macae.... Alterum sinum undique Arabes incingunt".

Arabian Gulfs"¹. And finally Isidore of Seville: "The country is called Arabia, that is sacred. It is interpreted to signify this because the region is incense-bearing and producing perfumes. The Greeks call it *Eudaimona*, we, however, call it the blessed; in whose mountains grow myrrh and cinnamon; the bird phoenix is born there; the gems sardonyx, iris, malachites and amethyst are found there. This country is also called Saba after the son of Chus who was called Saba. This, however, extends as a narrow strip of land facing the East in the direction of the Persian Gulf; its northern part is enclosed by Chaldea and the West by the Arabian Gulf"².

¹ Orosius, *Hist. Liber.* 1. 2; ML. 31. 677; Vindobon. 5. 14. "A flumine Tigri, usque ad flumen Euphratem, Mesopotamia est, incipiens a septentrione inter montem Taurum et Caucasum: cui ad meridiem succedit Babylonia, deinde Chaldaea, novissime Arabia Eudaemon: quae inter sinum Persicum et sinum Arabicum angusto terrae tractu orientem versus extenditur".

² Isidore *Etymol. Liber.* 14. 3. 15; ML. 82. 498. "Arabia appellata, id est sacra. Hoc enim significare interpretatur, eo quod sit regio thurifera, odores creans. Hinc eam Graeci *Eudaimona*, nostri beatam nominaverunt, in cujus saltibus et myrrha et cinnamum provenit; ibi nascitur avis phoenix; sardonyx gemma, iris, malochites, et paederotes ibi inveniuntur. Ipsa est, et Saba appellata, a filio Chus, qui nuncupatus est Saba. Haec autem angusto terrae tractu ad Orientem versus Persicum sinum extenditur, cujus septentrionalia Chaldaeae claudit, Occasum sinus Arabicus".

MINERALOGY AND MINING IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. K. ROY

From the fact that the Jatakas—undoubtedly important sources of ancient history of India—do not include Geology, Mineralogy and Mining amongst the 10 subjects taught in the ancient University of Taxila, many are of opinion that Geology and Mining were not known and taught by the ancient Indians. In the same way, from the absence of Mineralogy among the University subjects they come to the conclusion that Mining was not of much importance. Following are the 10 scientific and technical subjects taught in the Taxila University:—

(1) Elephant Lore, (2) Magic Charms, (3) Spell for bringing back the dead to life, (4) Hunting, (5) Spell for understanding animal cries, (6) Archery, (7) The Art of Prognostication, (8) Charm for commanding all things of senses, (9) Divining from the signs of the body and (10) Medicine. (Viswa-Bharati Quarterly for Oct. 1923, p. 237.) It may be noted that the list includes the Science of Medicine. It seems that those authors who are of opinion that geological and mining education was not prescribed in this

ancient Indian University have failed to realise that the ancient Science of Medicine included Chemistry, Physics and Mineralogy. The various metals and metalloids now used extensively by the Aurvedic physicians all over India are no doubt bulwarks of Aurveda (Cultural Heritage of India Vol. III, p. 404).

Further, it seems that those authors who rose from time to time to belittle the ancient Indian Culture and Education, did not care to see that the Jataka literature at many places mentions the prevalence of currency in metals (Economic condition of ancient India, Prof. J. N. Samaddar, p. 156) and makes abundant reference to metals and guilds of metal workers. "According to Jatakas, Karmaras were the craftsmen in metals; the guild of smiths occupied a prominent position and even ministers were selected from the heads of such guilds" (Law of Minerals in Ancient India by U. N. Bagchi, p. 13).

(b) *Mineralogy and Mining in Pre-Vedic Age*

That the Dravidian tongue was prevalent in the whole of Northern India and that the Dravidians were the ruling race of the country before the Aryans came and occupied Aryavarta *via* western route, is now accepted by many (India old and new. Hopkins p. 208). Even at the present day we find that the majority of the millions of workers engaged in Mining and allied work at many places in N. India are either Dravidians, or, Aborigines.

Wherever there are traces of ancient mining industry in N. India, e. g., Singhbhum, Gaya,

Kangra, Nepal, Sikkim etc., the areas are inhabited by people who are ethnologically more akin to the Dravidian and Aboriginal races than to the Aryans. Going to the history of the mica mining in Kodarma area, we find that the Lavanas were the first to work mica in this area. Names of old mica mines, like Surangi, Ladirangi, Lomchanch, Domchanch, Kharaktambi, are in the language of the present day Mushahars, the successors of the Lavanas. The iron smelting smiths of Mandi State who still have their houses perched on the hills of iron slag left by their fore-fathers are a peculiar tall, black race with intelligent features more resembling the Dravidians than the local fair-skinned, medium—statured, sharp-featured Aryans, among whose women folk blue eyes are common. Similar is the appearance of the Kamris of Nepal who are the hereditary smiths and smelters of that country. But in Mandi the smith is not treated as a member of a good caste of the Hindus as any "Nabashaki"* Blacksmith in Bengal; the smiths of Nepal, are treated as untouchable.

The discovery of a human skeleton 7 ft. tall in Bhaluk Khad, Tama Pahar, Lowa Gold Mine, Manbhum, is also suggestive of a Dravidian worker rather than that of a local aborigines.

When the Aryans entered India with the cry "Give us wide pasture" (Hopkins, India old and New p. 208) and conquered the country from the

*The following are the nine "Nabashak" sudras of Bengal who are permitted to carry the drinking water of the Brahmin "Teli, Mali, Tamili, Ghosh, Napit, Guchhali, Kamar, Kumor, Puntuly".

Nishads (Dravidians?), they found that the inhabitants were in a better state of civilisation regarding their laws and rights on land. And instead of carrying out mining themselves, the Aryans took to mineral trade and the Aryan Kings simply looked upon the produce of mines as a source of revenue like the produce from the land (Bagchi. *Law of Minerals in Ancient India* pp. 204-205. Rhys Davids. *Buddhist India*, pp. 44-45). It was the Dravidian who forged and placed in position the gigantic *iron beams*, 10 inches \times 8 inches in section and 21 ft. long, in the Temple of Konarak, Orissa¹; and it was they who mined gold ore by means of shafts more than 640 ft. deep at the Mines of Haity, Hyderabad State. They also worked *copper* at a depth of 250 ft. in Singhbhum and introduced *gold* mining in Central Africa².

Even in the pre-Dravidian era the *Iron Industry* was very highly developed in India (Pre Historic Arts and Crafts in India by P. Mitra, *Journal of Letter, C. U.* Vol. III, p. 212). And in the so-called pre-vedic civilisation of the Indus Valley, as evidenced from the finds at Mahenjodaro and Harappa (*Cultural Heritage* Vol. 1, p. 7) we find that the people were familiar with the uses of *Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Tin and Lead*, and among gem stones *cornelian, agate, etc.*

1 Mondal, R. B. History of the development of the Mining Education in India—manuscript.

2 Munn, Capt. "Gold mining in S. India" *Trans. Min. Coal. Inst. Ind.* Vol. XXX, Pt. 2, and personal observation of the author in Singhbhum.

Mineralogy in Vedic Age

Thus from above it may be seen that the history of metalliferous mining in India is really very old.

In the Rig Veda, which is undoubtedly the most ancient record of Aryan life in India—there are many passages which clearly show that the Vedic Aryans knew the uses of *gold, silver and iron*. There Indra “who alone is the Lord of man and wealth” (R. V. I. 7-9) has been described as having an *iron* thunder in his hand, and we find the chariot of Marut one of the twelve Adityas, described as *golden* wheeled and *iron* spiked (R. V. I. 88-5); we find the Vedic Rishi evoking the *golden* armed Sun God for protection (R. V. I. 22-5). We often and often come across in Rig Veda prayers in which *gola*, cattle, sons and grandsons are the objects which the Vedic Aryans requested of Gods (Cultural Heritage of India. Vol. I, p. 29).

In the later periods of Sanhitas (a sub-division of the Vedas containing the Mantra portion of the Vedas), Brahmanas (the sub-division of the Vedas giving detailed descriptions of sacrificial rites and modes of their performance) and Upanishads (parts of Aranyakas which again are considered to be parts of Brahmanas) where sub-division of the Aryan life according to occupation are given we find the mention of Lapidaris, Jewellers, smelters and Smiths, *Bronze, iron, copper, gold, lead and tin* are some of the metals (and consequently their minerals) known to the Indian of this age (Vedic Index. Macdonell and Keith Vol. I, p. 31 and 32. Cambridge History of India Vol. I. p. 137).

Mineralogy, Mining and Metallurgy in the Pre-historic Age

To this age is included the ages of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and those of Purans and Smritis. The Mahābhārata age was the golden age of the history of Aryan civilisation in India. The caste system has not yet bound itself with unbreakable fetters. It stood more for one's vocation of life suited to one's temperament and environment (Cultural Heritage of India Vol. I., p. 115).

In the ages of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa we find a tremendous increase in the consumption of metals in India. In the last 25 years the world has used more metal and more fuel than in the entire historical time. If the civilisation of a period can be measured by the quantity of metal it consumes then not only from this being the age of the Immortal Bhagbat Gita but from the metal consumption stand-point also, the Mahabharat era represents the most glorious and most intensely civilised age of the Aryan Culture in India.

In Mahābhārata we find thousands and thousands of soldiers clad in coats of mails and wearing metallic helmets fighting with swords and spears, made of steel; or, they are shooting arrows mounted with steel which even eclipsed the sun. Nalik-astra (Gun) Shataghniastra (cannon?) were used in numbers; these fire-arms used to shoot metallic bullets and shells. Great heroes followed by thousands of charioteers are described crossing the battle-field in lightning speed, their chariot wheels, made of steel, giving out sparks as they thundered passed the arena. Ladies of Princely

houses dressed in flowing saris and wearing gold and silver ornaments set with pearls and gem stones—*Diamond, Ruby, Suphire*, and *Emerald* and other gem stones—attended great "Jagnas" and "Sabhas" and "Theatres" and "Sports meetings". *Gold, Silver, Copper, Zinc, Tin, Mercury* and *Lead*, were used in large quantities in this era. The Kings and great Heroes used to live in grand Palaces which had "Sphatik" (Rock crystal=Quartz) collonades and whose floors were covered with slabs of beautiful marble and various coloured stones. Ravana's capital Lanka used to be called "Swarna Lankapuri". Even mica is said to be used in large quantities in decorative work.

In this, the grandest Era of Aryan India, Metals and Rocks formed an integral part of Indian civilisation and the reason was no doubt that the Sciences of Mineralogy, Mining, Metallurgy, Chemistry and Physics were at that time in a most perfect state of advancement.

The Decline and Fall of Imperial Indraprastha after the Mahabharatic wars brought in its train a deterioration of Arts and Sciences and even civilisation itself, in the fair land of Hindustan. But fortunately it was of a temporary nature as far as metals are concerned. Abundant references of metals and minerals have been made in the Jatakas, Purans and Smirtis which are of contemporary age or, which were written in a period immediately following the Mohabharat.

Thus we find in Manu that the *Chandalas* used to wear *iron* ornaments (Manusanghita Ch. X

Slokes 51-52). If a Brahmin worked in a *mine* he was considered *Upapadaka* (Manusamita Ch. XI, Slokes 60 and 67). The Great Law-giver ordained that any one who steals *gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell metal* and *stones* must live on broken grains of rice for 12 days (Manu. Ch. X, Sloka 161). In the seventh chapter of Manusanghita while laying down the rules of Raja Dharma (duties of the king) Manu law ordains "To the king is due the fifth part of *gold, silver, animals* and *gems* and.....a sixth or eighth or twelfth part of paddy and other crops according to the cost of cultivation and fertilities of the soil. (Manusamita, Chapter VII, Sloka 130). Later on in the "Byabahara" (Secular Law) written by sage Jagnabalka we find the people of that time possessing a most intimate knowledge of *metals* and *minerals*; this is evident from Sloka 181 of Byabahara which deals with the deterioration, of metals when treated with fire. Here it is mentioned "Gold does not suffer deterioration of *silver* is two, of *tin* and *lead* eight, of *copper* five and of *iron* ten *palas* per hundred (Byabahara, Sloka 181). In "Achara" (conduct) Jagnabalka tells us how to purify *lead, copper, brass* and *impure silver* and *gold* (Achara, Slokas 190-191). He also directs the Kings to use *copper plates* to write deeds (Slokas 318-320) Basistha Sanghita (Ch. III and Ch. V) makes reference to *copper, bell-metal, silver, gold, gem stones* and *pearls*; in Vishnu Sanghita (Chapter II Sloka 3) the king is authorised to collect two per cent revenue on all animals, *gold* and clothes.

From what has been quoted above it may be seen that these earlier Smritis of Manu, Vishnu, Jagnabalkya, etc. were rather vague about the ownership of mines though there may be distinct hint that mines owners, like dealers of cloth and owners of cattle, were private individuals. But towards the end of this pre-historic period we find that the system of state ownership of mines has become an established fact. And it is argued by those who advocate the state ownership of natural resources that it was probably this fact which contributed a good deal to the flourishing condition of the mineralogical research and mining trade of Hindusthan as apparent from the Arthasastra, mentioned below. Even now in our country many are of opinion that state ownership of the fuel minerals (coal, and petroleum) and key minerals like Mica, Chromite, Wolfram, etc. will be more advantageous to the country. In latter Smritis we find slokas which support this view. Manu and Vishnu, however, were rather ambiguous on the question of ownership of mines. In Vishnu Sanghita (Chapter III) there is a Sloka (No. 35) which means that the King shall appropriate all from the *mines* of the conquered country.

Mineral Industry in the Historic Age.

Whatever may be the condition of Arts and Sciences in the Puranic period there was a great change in every sphere of life with the advent of a New Order which took its root into the Society sometime ago but became confirmed by the destruction of Brahmanic Supremacy which started with the advent of Lord Buddha. And, how great were

the advances in Geology and Mining in another 100 years can be understood from the following quotations from Dr. Shama Sastri translation of Arthasastra written by Chanakya Pandit, the famous prime minister of Emperor Chandragupta.

The Arthasastra gives the names of various Departments of the state and details of the duties allotted to the numerous Heads of Departments of a regularly constituted Hindu State. Thus, while enumerating the duties of the Revenue Minister Chanakya says, "The Revenue Minister shall attend to the collection of revenues from Durga (Fort); Rastra (Country side); *Khani* (mines); Vana (Forests); Vraja (Herd of cattle); etc. (Arthasastra Book II, Ch. VI). According to Kautilya Mining and commerce in minerals were monopoly of the State.

The whole of Chapter XII of the second book of Kautilya deals with variations rules and regulations regarding mining operations, mine management and manufacture of metals from minerals. The information contained in this Chapter brings out most marvellous facts about the knowledge of geology, mining and metallurgy prevalent in India in the 4th century B. C. Kautilya even mentions about the manufacture of artificial gold from other metals (Dr. Winternitz, Vishwa Bharati Quarterly, Kartic 1330 B. S. p. 263). The Mining Industry was so well developed at that time that there was a Department of Mines under the Government which employed Superintendents of Mines whose qualifications are described as follows :—

He must be "Possessed of the knowledge of science of dealing with copper and other minerals ; experienced in the art of distillation and condensation of mercury and of testing of gems. He must be aided by experts in mineralogy and equipped with mining labourers and necessary instruments.

It may be noted from above that the Superintendent had to supervise (Inspect) the mineral deposits more or less in a manner similar to that of the present-day geologists of the Geological Survey of India employed by the Government of India. The duty of the present day Inspectors of mines was more or less entrusted to the Labour Welfare Officer (see p. 14) who was mostly concerned with the safety of the workers in the mines. Inspector of the mines of Emperor Chandragupta had to ascertain (=Prospect) the richness (=Reserve) of various minerals by means of depth of colour and weight (=Specific Gravity), smell and taste (also chemical testes?). Even at the present day we determine the reserve of a mineral deposit at a certain place in a similar way.

In Arthasastra Bk. II, Chapter I, the great Scientist-Politician Kautilya, the Machiavelli of Hindu India, when laying down the duties of the King says "Thus the King shall not only keep in good repair timber and elephant forests, buildings, and *mines* created in the past, *but also set up new ones*". Again here we find the mention of a State Geological Survey Department To set up new mines the King had to certainly engage geological

prospectors *i. e.*, he had to maintain a Geological Survey Department.

Thus the Government of Hindusthan more than two thousand years ago was not only as up to date as the present Government of India in maintaining the Department of Geological Survey of India, but quoting the sociopolitical literature subsequent to Chanakya, especially the Sukraniti Dr. Bagchi says "It is well-known that in ancient India there were Government officials to supervise the works of all kinds of labourers and artisans, so that the inclusion of the term miner in the sloka above does not necessarily show that these miners were labourers working in the royal mines,—Most likely, there was a department of mines in ancient India whose officers supervised the labour of private mines. This supervision was all the more necessary because the King derived a large amount of revenue from mines in the shape of duties and under these circumstances, the *Sumantra* had an important duty in informing the King the amount of taxation from *minerals* and *metals*". (Law of Minerals in Ancient India—p. 193). These were nothing but the counter parts of the modern Factory Inspectors,—the Inspectors of Mines and Labour Welfare Officers, in the Governments of ancient India.

In Bk. II—Chapter XII of Arthasastra, Kautilya describes how various ore minerals are to be identified by means of their colour, appearance, smell and hardness or softness (present Moh's scale?). He tells us how they are to be cleared of their superficial impurities (ore dressing of

modern time) and how they are to be purified by chemical means (metallurgy). And in the end he enumerates the uses of these ores or metals and mentions their places of occurrence. In addition to the Superintendent of land mining there were Superintendents of Ocean mines which yielded revenues on pearls, corals, salt, conch shells, etc. Further, Kautilya ordains that every one must have obtained a previous license from the Government (Certificate of approval and Mining license of modern time) to carry out mining operation and a person who carries out mining operations without license, was bound with chain and made to work as a prisoner.

How perfect was the knowledge in Mineralogy of gem stones can be understood when it is said that even now the ancient treatise on gem stone called "Ratnakaram" is considered to be the last word on gems. Most of the Europeans names of gem stones like Quartz (Karataja), Garnet (Gokarna moni), Tourmaline (Tournamala moni), Corundum (Kurundama moni), etc. originates from their Sanskrit names as given in "Ratnakaram" Even Asbestos mines were worked by the ancients. The Emperor Ashok presented a Towel of asbestos to the King of Ceylon through his son (S. K. Roy, "Asbestos" Bill No. 5, IRS, Bihar p. 1).

Following were the various kinds of revenues obtained from mining:—"Thus, besides collecting from mines the ten kinds of revenue such as (i) Value of the out-put, (ii) the share of the out-put (iii) the premium of 5 per cent, (iv) the testing charge of coins, (v) fines previously announced, (vi) tolls, (vii) com-

compensation for loss entailed on the King's commerce, (viii) fines to be levied in proportion to the gravity of crimes, (ix) coinage, (x) the premium of eight per cent. the Government shall keep as a state-monopoly both mining and commerce in minerals."

Megasthenis was a contemporary of Chanakya. Unfortunately the original work of Megasthenes on India is lost. But from the glimpses to this most important work, that can be obtained from writers who quoted him we find that in his time many mines existed in India and he also speaks of miners (Bagchi, *Law of Minerals in Ancient India*—p. 203). The following lines of the great Greek ambassador to Emperor Chandragupta's court is of special interest "Underground (in India) there were numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for they contain much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornaments, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war" (Dr. N. R. Dhar, *Culture Heritage of India* Vol. III, pp. 450—451).

The sociopolitical Schools of Manava, Brihaspati, Ausanasa and Parasara are mentioned by Kautilya. Therefore they are older than 4th century B. C. while among subsequent literature in the same line (*Nitisastra*), the works of Sukracharya (*Sukraniti*) and Kamandaka, etc. are famous.

The glorious Renaissance of Indian Culture which were backed by the religion of Lord Buddha and socio-political philosophy of Kautilya, Kamandaka, Sukracharya and others, attained its climax

during the reign of Emperor Ashoka. As Buddhism as a Religion insists on the alleviation of sufferings of man as well as animals, the Science of Medicine was therefore practised in every Monastery (University) and every monastery had a hospital attached to it. Thus Medicine, Chemistry and Mineralogy attained a very high state of perfection in India in this times as many metals and their salts and many alkalis were used by the Indian physicians even at this period about two thousand years ago. Charak, Susruta, Nagarjuna are some of the immortal names of Physicians and Chemists of this period. But due to his pacifist policy the empire of Ashok became weak and it was destroyed by the invasions of the Bactrians, Parthians, Shaks, Kushana and Andhras. India became divided into a number of small kingdoms and it was not until another 500 years that the Guptas rose into power and established another mighty empire. The Guptas ruled over North India for about two centuries from the 4th to the 6th century A. D.

It was in this period of Gupta rule that Tamralipti (Tamluk) was still a famous port through which large quantities of copper of Singhbhum used to be exported to foreign countries; Kohinoor was discovered; the Diamond mines of Golconda Province were discovered and Golunda became a famous diamond mart; Damask blades were introduced from India to Arabia; other metals and gem stones were used in large quantities. The famous Pillar of Rustless Iron near the Kutab Miner, Delhi dates from the Gupta period. Fergusson says the following about the Iron Pillar of Delhi,—“It opens our eyes to an

unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age capable of forging a bar of iron longer than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now." (Cultural Heritage Vol. III, p. 451). The pillar is practically pure iron ; its iron content being 99, 720 per cent. (Sir R. Hadfield's analysis).

The down fall of the Gupta Empire was brought about by the invasion of the Huns, Scythians and Saracens. Blows upon blows wielded by the hords of these invaders stunned the growth of our Sciences and Arts and destroyed their vast literature through arson and incendiarism. The harrowing tales of these invaders have yet to be told by the historians (Kaviraj Gananath Sen, Cultural Heritage Vol. III, p. 411). Yet during the successive centuries and until the establishment of the Mahomedan Rule in 1200 A. D., various Hindu Kings like Yashodharman (C. 530 A. D.), Sasanka (600 A. D.), Harshavardhan (606-647), Yashovarman (700 A. D.), Lalitaditya (730) made attempts to build an Empire in N. India. (R. C. Mozumdar Cultural Heritage Vol. III, p. 4). Several very brilliant men and women who left permanent marks on the Scientific and Cultural lives not only of India but of the whole world were born in our country during this period. Shankaracharya, Kalidas—Barahamihir and the seven other gems, Vijnanesvara (the author of Mitakshara), Bhas, Lilabati, Bhaskaracharya, Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta, (Shidanta Shiromoni) are just a few of them. During the eighth and ninth centuries Indian Professors used to teach Medicine, Arithmetic and Algebra to Arab scholars in the

Universities of Haroon al Rasheed (Cultural Heritage, p. 446).

But inspite of the birth of so many Great Masters the Dynamic forces of Aryan advancement were by this time reaching their last ebb tide. Reaction had started. Although many very brilliant men and women—Authors, Scientists, Mathematicians and Law Givers—were born during this period, it seems that the original ideas reared by the genius of these Masters did not survive long after their death. The Society seemed to be lacking in concerted action and in the spirit to continue a new idea, a new line of research. What happened later on Dr. N. R. Dhar summarises in the following words (Cultural Heritage Vol. III, p. 453).

“Moreover, owing to the revival of Brahminism and overthrow of Buddhism, the neo-Brahmins in their zeal to show hostility to everything Buddhistic discarded and neglected those things which were cherished and advanced by the Buddhists. Thus practical Science, Medicine and Surgery, etc., which were zealously pursued by the Buddhists seem to have been totally disregarded by the neo-Brahmins.”

“It is well-known that Science and Medicine developed considerably in the Universities and hospitals attached to the Buddhist monasteries at Pataliputra, Taxila, Sarnath, Nalanda, Vikramsila and Udantapura between the fifth and the eleventh century A. D. According to Kern (A Manual of Indian Buddhism), during the invasion of India by the Mohammedans in 1200 A. D. the monasteries

at Udantapura and Vikramsila were destroyed. The monks were either killed or they fled to other parts, e. g., Nepal, South India and Burma, and thus the progress of science practically came to an end from the land of Indian Aryans, as there was no security and settled state of affairs and the people were in constant dread owing to the ravage of repeated invasions. All these factors led to the decline of Science and Medicine in the period 1200—1900 A.D. The Hindu India lost her liberty in 1200 and with liberty her fairest hopes of continued intellectual development.

And after that, during the Dark—Age 1200—1900, the Brahmins, Khatris and the educated classes gave up the study of Arts and Sciences, only the practical knowledge of various Arts and Sciences as were with the village workers were handed down from father to son during all the ages of darkness that followed 1200 A. D. Not only a general apathy, there might have also gradually developed a certain amount of condemnation of the various Arts and Sciences by the Society during this time. Thus we find the Gold washers all over N. India—Punjab, Mandi State, Suket, Nepal, Seraikella, Ghatsila—are untouchables; the hereditary Tanner is the untouchable "Muchi," the Architect is the low class "Raj"; the smelter and blacksmith is the "Kamar" who except in Bengal is untouchable everywhere: the Sculptor is the "Potter" who makes the images of Hindu Gods for ceremonial worship; the painter is "Malakar"; the Dancer is the low class 'Nat,' or, a 'Nati' usually a public woman; the Surgeon is the Barber; the

Musician is either 'Nat' or 'Nati' the female ones being usually prostitutes. The astronomer and mathematician is a fallen "Acharya—Brahmin." Even the Brahmin who practised medicine and somehow kept the light of the ancient Hindu Sciences of Medicine, Mineralogy, Botany, Chemistry and Physics burning, were condemned—they became a "Shankar-Barna"—Vaidya.



KINGS OF THE JAUNPUR DYNASTY AND THEIR COINAGE

By S. A. SHERE

A hoard of fifty coins was unearthed in a paddy field of village Piparbar, east of village Subedar-bigha, Police Station Hussainabad in the Sadar Sub-division of the District of Palamau in Bihar. The treasure was found by a woman of the village on the 18th December 1941 and recommended for acquisition by the Deputy Commissioner, Palamau, Khan Bahadur S. M. Amir. It was forwarded to the Patna Museum for examination and report to Government as regards its numismatic importance. The coins were examined by me as the Treasure Trove Officer, Bihar, and the Local Government were pleased to accord sanction to their acquisition under the Treasure Trove Act. Most of these coins were much corroded but were chemically cleaned by the Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, who reported that they were copper.

The fifty copper coins appertain to the reigns of four out of the six kings of the Sharqi¹ dynasty of Jaunpur and date between A. H. 827 and 863.

1. The dynasty of Jaunpur is known as the Sharqi dynasty because of the title of Sultan-ush-Sharq held by Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan who threw off the yoke of Delhi and founded the independent kingdom of Jaunpur and also because the kingdom was situated east of Delhi. Jaunpur is now in the United Provinces.

The description of the coins with their weight is as follows :—

Ibrahim Shah

Æ No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in Grains.	Obverse.	Reverse
1	..	827	67.11	خليفة ابوالفتح ۸۲۷	ابراهيم شاه سلطان ۸۲۷
2	..	827	67.98	.. ۸۲۷	..
3	..	828	68.22	.. ۸۲۸	..
4	..	828	68.45	.. ۸۲۸	..
5	..	82x	67.64	.. ۸۲-	..
6	..	830	66.65	.. ۸۳۰	..
7	..	831	69.67	.. ۸۳۱	..
8	..	832	70.91	.. ۸۳۲	..
9	..	833	67.01	.. ۸۳۳	..
10	..	833	67.33	.. ۸۳۳	..
11	..	833	68.26	.. ۸۳۳	..
12	..	833	69.31	.. ۸۳۳	..
13	..	833	68.56	.. ۸۳۳	..

Æ No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in Grains.	Obverse.	Reverse.
14	..	836	64.74	خليفة ابوالفتح ۸۳۶	ابراہیم شاہ سلطانے
15	..	837	65.42	۸۳۷	"
16	..	83x	67.82	۸۳—	"
17	..	840	68.32	۸۴۰	"
18	..	842	67.45	۸۴۲	"
19	..	842	68.48	۸۴۲	"
20	..	843	68.69	۸۴۳	"
21	..	843	68.07	۸۴۳	"
22	..	8xx	66.73	۸—	"

MAHMUD SHAH

23	..	846	69.58	خليفة ابوالفتح ۸۴۶	محمود شاہ ابراہیم شاہ سلطانے
24	..	847	69.47	۸۴۷	"
25	..	847	69.25	۸۴۷	"

Æ No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in Grains.	Obverse.	Reverse
26	..	847	71.22	خليفة ابوالفتح	محمود شاه ابراهيم شاه سلطان
27	..	848	68.51	۸۴۷	
28	..	84x	71.09	۸۴۸	"
29	..	84x	68.67	۸۴—	"
30	..	850	71.56	۸۴—	"
31	..	852(?)	70.33	۸۵+	"
32	..	853	72.38	۸۵(i)	"
33	..	854(?)	72.88	۸۵j	"
34	..	857	71.75	۸۵(?)k	"
35	..	857	70.52	۸۵V	"
36	..	85x	70.94	۸۵V	"
37	..	85x	70.17	۸۵—	"
38	..	85x	71.95	۸۵—	"
39	..	xxx	69.12	۸۵—	"
				—	"

Æ No.	Mint.	Date A. H.	Weight in Grains.	Obverse.	Reverse.
40	.	xxx	68.85	خليفة ابوالفتح	محمد بن شاه ابراهيم شاه سلطان
41	.	xxx	70.91	"	"
42	→	xxx	69.97	"	"
43	.	xxx	62.59	"	"
44	→	xxx	71.86	"	"
45	.	xxx	69.61	"	"
46	..	xxx	71.40	"	"
47	..	xxx	71.80	"	"
MUHAMMAD SHAH					
48	..	861	69.99	خليفة ابوالفتح	محمد شاه محمد شاه ابراهيم شاه سلطان
49	..	862	71.13	۸۶۱ " ۸۶۲	"
HUSAIN SHAH					
50	..	(8)63	72.20	خليفة ابوالفتح	حسين شاه محمد شاه ابراهيم شاه سلطان
				۸۶۳	"

These fifty coins therefore appertain to the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th kings in order of succession.

The eunuch Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan, Vazir of Sultan Mahmud Tughluq of Delhi betrayed his sovereign and established himself at Jaunpur as an independent ruler in A. H. 796¹. He held his sway over Oudh and the Gangetic Doab and right into Bihar and Tirhoot to the East². He died in A. H. 802³ after a short reign of six years and some months⁴. No coin of this Sultan appears to have been issued⁵.

1. S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 309. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 701.

E. Thomas, *the Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 320

Tarikh-i-Firishta, Pers. Text., Vol. II, p. 591, says that in Jamadi, I. A. H. 796. Sultan Mahmud Tughluq conferred on his vazir the title of Malik-ush-Sharq and appointed him Governor of Jaunpur, Bihar and Tirhoot (Eastern provinces of the Empire) and later the Vazir taking advantage of the disorder at Delhi, assumed the title of Sultan-ush-Sharq.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Bibl. Ind.* Vol. III, Pers. Text, p. 273. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 251.

S. Lane-Poole, *the Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 309.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Bibl. Ind.* Vol. III, Pers. Text, p. 274.

Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text, p. 591. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 701 and

S. Lane-Poole, *the Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 309 mention the year A. H. 802 as the accession of his adopted son Mubarak

4. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, Pers. Text, p. 591, but Col. Briggs, *Eng. Trans.*, p. 360 has only six years.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, *Bibl. Ind.* Vol. III, Pers. Text, p. 274 has 16 years which is a mistake.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, Pers. Text, p. 591.

Khair Uddin, the author of the *Jaunpurnama*. Ms. British Museum OR 188. Folio 7, however says that the Sultan ordered the coins to be decorated with his name.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, is silent as regards the striking of coins by Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan

On the death of Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan, his adopted son Malik Qaranful raised the standard of Government under the title of Mubarak Shah. He died in A. H. 804¹ and was succeeded by his younger brother Ibrahim². Ibrahim Shah struck gold, silver, billon and copper coins but the silver and copper issues of the earlier period of his reign are very scarce³. His gold issue is also rare⁴. There are twenty-two coins (serial No.1—22) of Ibrahim in this hoard of fifty and the earliest of them is dated A. H. 827 and the latest A. H. 843. He died in A. H. 844⁵ after a glorious reign of over forty years⁶.

1. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Bibl. Ind. Vol. III, Pers. Text, p. 274., and Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text, p. 592, both say that the Sultan (Mubarak Shah) reigned for one year and some months.

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 251 and the Mohammadan Dynasties by S. Lane-Poole, p. 309, mention the title of Shams-al-din Ibrahim Shah but the authors of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Firishta and Jaunpurnama mention no such title given to the Sultan. Also no coin of Ibrahim with the title 'Shams-al-din' appears in the Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 208-211 and Pl. VIII (V).

3. H. Nelson Wright, Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

4. In the cabinet of the Patna Museum there was a coin of Ibrahim (*Vide* Indian Museum Catalogue, Pl. VIII, type No.1) which was unearthed in village Lundri, Police Station Mandor, district Ranchi, Bihar in 1939 but was unfortunately burgled from the Strong Room of the Museum in the same year (*Vide* Annual Report of the Managing Committee, Patna Museum 1938-39, p. 31).

5. Jaunpurnama, MS. British Museum OR. 188, Folio 9. Col. Briggs, Eng. Trans. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. IV, p. 366. S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 309 and H. Nelson Wright Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 206 have the accession of Sultan Mahmud bin Ibrahim in A. H. 844.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 252 and 701 incorrectly places Ibrahim's death in A. H. 840.

6. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Bibl. Ind. Vol. II, Pers. Text, p. 278.

Mahmud the eldest son succeeded his father Ibrahim. Twenty-five coins (serial Nos. 23—47) of the hoard belong to the reign of Mahmud and the earliest of them is dated A. H. 846 while the latest is of A. H. 857. He died in A. H. 862¹. Nelson Wright agreeing with Lane-Poole says that "the date of Mahmud's death is not free from obscurity" and in support of this further says that "an inscription at Dhaka has been found bearing Mahmud's name with the date 863 and General Cunningham informed Mr. Thomas (Pathan Kings, p. 323) that coins were known of A. H. 862 and 863. Against this is the negative evidence that neither in the cabinets of the Indian Museum and Asiatic Society nor in the published Catalogues of the British and Lahore Museums are any coins of Mahmud bearing date later than A. H. 861, that coins of his son Muhammad are found with the dates A. H. 861, 862 and 863 and that coins of Husen Shah are also known (*Vide* No. 111 of this Catalogue) of A. H. 862²". If Mahmud died in A. H. 862, as has been stated above on the authority of Nizamuddin and Firishta, there is no cause for surprise if Mahmud's coinage dated A. H. 862 was noticed by General Cunningham. As regards Mahmud's coinage of A. H. 863 also noticed by Cunningham it is possible that this was a posthumous issue as in the case of

1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Bibl. Ind. Vol. II. Pers. Text, p. 283.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 599.

Cambridge History of India Vol. III, p. 254 has A. D. 1457 (i. e., 862 A. H.)

2. H. Nelson Wright, *Cat. of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 207.

coin No. 1 of Mahmud, dated A. H. 865 deposited in the Coin Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As for the inscription found at Dhaka (*i. e.* Dacca, Bengal) bearing Mahmud's name with the date A. H. 863 this may have led to confusion in as much as Mahmud I of Bengal was a contemporary of Mahmud of Jaunpur² and it (the inscription) has in fact misled Nelson Wright into ascribing the reference to Sultan Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur. This inscription was published by Blochmann in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1872 but his paper does not contain the facsimiles³. It was obtained from Dr. James Wise who gives the information that the inscriptional tablet was taken from a mosque situated in a Mahalla (Quarter) of the place called 'Churibattah' and was of opinion that the slab was removed from some older mosque and city to Dhaka (Dacca). There is internal evidence in the inscription itself that, though it is dated A. H. 863, it certainly refers to Mahmud of Bengal whose title in the inscription-Nasiruddunya waddin Abdul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah is exactly the same as given on the coins of Mahmud of Bengal⁴. This inscription bears the date, 20th Shaban, 863 A. H. and also gives the title of Khan Jahan⁵ to the king.

1. Ibid, p. 215, Pl. VIII (v).

2. Ibid, p. 131.

3. J. A. S. B. Vol. XLI, Part I, pp. 107-108.

4. H. Nelson Wright, Cat. of the coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 164.

5. For an account of Khan Jahan mentioned in the Inscription see the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXXVI, No. II, pp. 130-131.

The unfortunate Muhhammd¹, referred to succeeded his father Mahmud² in A. H. 862. Muhammad was unfit to rule and was consequently dethroned and later put to death after a short reign of five months³. Two coins of the hoard dated A. H. 861 and 862 respectively (Serial Nos. 48-49) belong to the reign of Muhammad. From the coin dated A. H. 861 (Serial No. 48) bearing the name of Muhammad it would appear that his father permitted him to strike coins in his own name⁴ during the last years of his reign, although Nelson Wright considers it improbable and therefore places the latter's death in A. H. 861 and the accession of Muhammad in the same year⁵. On the other hand Nizamuddin and Firishtha say that Mahmud died in A. H. 862⁶. Incidentally, no coin of Muhammad dated A. H. 861

1. *Tarikh-i-Firishtha*, Vol. II Pers. Text. p. 599.
Jaunpurnama, MS. British Museum OR. 188, Folio 10.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 254.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Bibl. Ind. Vol. III. Pers. Text, p. 283,
 has Mahmud which is a mistake.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Bibl. Ind. Vol. III. Pers. Text. p. 283.
Tarikh-i-Firista, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 599.
 E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*,
 p. 320.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firista*, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 601. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Bibl. Ind. Vol. III. Pers. Text, p. 273 incorrectly mentions five years but corrects the mistake on page 284. B. De, Bibl. Ind. Eng. Trans. p. 459 has failed to notice the correction.

4. S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 309.
 5. H. Nelson Wright, *Cat. of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 206.
 6. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Bible. Ind. Vol. III. Pers. Text. p. 283.

Tarikh-i-Firishtha, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 599.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 230 has
 A. D. 1457-861 A. H. (p. 701).

is to be found either in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum or of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹.

Husain succeeded his brother Muhammad on the throne of Jaunpur. Nizamuddin and Firishta are silent as regards the actual year of accession of Husain but the latter historian² says that on the death of Muhammad his brother Husain ascended the throne. Since Muhammad ruled for only about five months the year of his death may also be the year of his accession, *i. e.*, A. H. 862 and in that case Husain's accession might therefore be in the self same year *i. e.*, A. H. 862³. Only one coin of the hoard dated A. H. 863 (Serial No. 50) belongs to Husain's reign, which was marked by his conflicts with Buhlul Lodi and Sikandar Lodi. He was ultimately defeated and driven to Bihar by Sikandar Lodi. With his flight in A. H. 881⁴ the Sharqi dynasty came to an end and was later absorbed in the Kingdom of Delhi. Husain died in exile at Colgong in Bihar in A. H. 905⁵.

1. H. Nelson Wright, Cat. of the coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, p. 215.

2. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 601.

3. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 701.

E. Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 320.

As Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Bibl. Ind. Vol. III. Pers. Text, p. 283 and Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 599 place the death of Mahmud in A. H. 862 and limited the rule of his son and successor to five months, it is not improbable that Husain succeeded his brother in the year of their father's death in A. H. 862. S. Lane-Poole, the Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 309 and H. Nelson Wright Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum. Vol. II, p. 206 give A. H. 863 as the year of accession of Husain the successor and brother of Muhammad but this seems, of doubtful accuracy.

4. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, Pers. Text. p. 603.

S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 309.

5. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 271.

S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 309.

RESEMBLANCE OF MANICHÆISM TO BUDDHISM*

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Manichæism is the contrast between spirit and matter, between light and darkness, which is prominent in the religious system of Mani, is chiefly borrowed from the doctrine of Zoroaster, but can be pointed out also in Buddhism, as has been shown already before ; therefore I need not again return to the subject in this place. The second coincidence of Manichæism with the doctrines of the Buddhists, manifests itself in the ideas on the origin of the world. According to the Manichæans a ray of light shining from the kingdom of light into the kingdom of darkness, gives the first impulse to the creation of the world or to the commingling of light with darkness and the world comes forth from the most intimate interpenetration of the two principles, from the commingling of the light or the soul of the light with matter. Here-with the view of the northern Buddhists agrees on the origin of the world from the region of the first dhyāna or contemplation, in which the highest purity and clearness dominate and in which the beings possess neither colours nor forms¹. In the next world only the beings obtain colour and form ;

* Translated with notes from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1858.)

1. S. Ind. Alt. p. 390.

those of the third world are fitted out with wishes and longings ; to the separate degrees of these creatures of the fanciful Buddhistic theogony, who approach sensuousness more and more, I need not return on this occasion. In the Buddhist system, of course, the contrast between spirit and matter does not as abruptly manifest itself as among the Manichæans, but Buddhism also conceives a gradual decrease and condensation of the spiritual principle. A resemblance to the attacks on the kingdom of light, assumed by the Manichæans, occurs in the Buddhist representation according to which storms broke forth during the periodical renovations of the world. First a golden cloud appears in the third region of the second dhyâna, it contains a powerful rain, from which an immense sea originates.

In this sea a violent hurricane arises, which mallows up the sea and causes the world-mountain *Meru* to appear which forms the world*. It is clear that these Buddhist storm-winds are the same inimical power which effect the creation, penetrate the entire created world but are not further explicable, as the battle of the two principles in Manichæism, only with the difference, that in Buddhism this power appears as a purely physical one, but in Manichæism as a spiritual one, since the latter treats its principles as personally acting beings, as an act undertaken intentionally. Buddhism perfectly agrees with Manichæism in determining the idea of evil exactly as the latter conceives

1. Abel Remusat's *Essay on the cosmography and cosmogony of the Buddhists according to Chinese authors*, in his *Mel. posth.* p. 104.

it and "in considering the development of every-thing existing, as evil"¹.

The third point in which the doctrines of the adherents of *Śākyasiṃha* intimately touch those of the Manichaeans is the view of the manner in which created beings arise from their humiliation and must through a series of degrees or births work themselves up, ere they can attain the complete deliverance from their humiliation. It is true, Buddhism knows nothing of the apostasy of the spirits in the strict sense of the cessation; but as it considers the state of all beings as the consequences of acts during former births which were generally bad, we may suppose that the Buddhists considered the usual state of all creatures as a humiliated and unhappy one. As long as they are still subject to the unchangeable laws of the *Samsāra* or eternal course of worldly affairs, they remain a prey to all the evils and pains thereof. On the means, by which created beings may deliver themselves from these evils and pains, I have already before made the necessary remarks². This doctrine of transmigration resembles of Manichaeism to Buddhism is as we know, with several others, originally Brahmanic, appropriated to themselves by the Buddhists. The migrations of the souls through various bodies are among the Buddhists, as among the Manichaeans, only the external road, on which the souls may attain the

1. Banar 1. q. w. p. 436 and I. J. Schmidt on the affinity of the gnostic-theosophical doctrines with the religious systems of the east especially with the Buddhists p. 8.

2. S. above p. 394.

highest degree. The internal road is the highest cognition, the *dhyāna* of the Buddhists, the *gnosis* of the Manichaeans, that all things are futile, empty and vain¹. One consequence of this view is the opinion that the true salvation of man consists in the mortification of all his sexual impulses and passions, in his complete disruption from matter. This cognition can however bear the wished-for fruits only when connected with strict ascetic exercises and with the highest virtues, which must permeate the whole temporal life. In this respect a parallel may be drawn between *Buddha* and the *Christ* of the Manichaeans. The chief object of both is to withdraw true cognition from oblivion, and to awaken a desire for it. *Buddha* intended by his injunctions to liberate men from their unhallowed condition and put for this purpose the wheel of the *dharma* or law in motion, by which word Buddhists designate the promulgation of the doctrine. His birth was early conceived as a supernatural one and therefore his mother was named *Māyā*, by which word the creative power of the deity is meant, and his nurse was called *Prajāpati*, creator². According to the most accredited narrative *Buddha* descended into the wombs of his mother not in the shape of a five-colored ray, but in the brilliant form of a young white elephant, and was born from her right loin³. The view that

1. Bauer i. q. w. p. 440.

2. S. above II. p. 68.

3. Ph. Ed. Foucaux's French transl. of the Tibetan Transl. of the *Lalitavistara* I. p. 68 and p. 81. The other statement occurs in I. J. Schmidt's *On the affinity*, Cf. p. 12 in his *Researches in the domain of Middle-Asiatic history*, p. 169.

his birth was only an apparent one, had of course existed already before the time of Mani, because *Nāgārjuna* had asserted that the name *Buddha* is only a word, and that he himself resembles only an illusion; and that his adventures are to be composed only to dreamy imaginations¹. *Buddha* at last made his appearance in the world as the antagonist of evil in the world, and as the annihilator of the illusions of the senses. This Buddhist Doctrine may be considered as the prototype of the Manichæan doctrine, and this comparison even serves, to place Manichæan Christology which is so obscure in some points, into a brighter light, and to render the suspicion probable, that Manichæan doctrine was not merely an arbitrarily assumed excuse, in order to leave a seeming reality to the historical facts of Christianity, but rather rests on a historical basis². This basis is the view peculiar to the Indian religious system, that when evil had begun to preponderate in the world, the deity incarnated itself from time to time in various forms, in order to extirpate evil and again to restore the order of the world. Among the Brahmins the *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* or his descents into the world, who are the only generally acknowledged ones among them, were considered as the real advents of this god. Also the Buddhists had then long ago begun to pay divine worships to the human *Buddha*. Therefore his humanisations could be touched by matter just as little as the incarnations of *Viṣṇu*. Not the Buddhists in general, but only

1. s. above II. p. 1164.

2. Bauer, 1. p. 442.

the adherents of the philosophical *Mādhyamika* school consider the appearance of the Buddha in the world as an illusion. If among Manichaeans the relation of Christ to the history of Christianity is a real one, then *Buddha* likewise enjoys one to history by his descent from *Ikṣvāku* the mythical ancestor of the *Sūryavamśa* the solar race of the ancient Indian kings¹. On account of the insufficiency of the sources on this portion of Manichaeism it is not clear, what relation to Christ, *Manes* had himself assumed, and uncertain whether his adherents maintain that he appeared at a certain time as the founder of a new religious doctrine, as the Buddhists were obliged to do on account of the historical character of the founder of their religion.

In spite of this discrepancy of details, the agreement of Manichaeism and of Buddhism in the principal thing is unmistakeable, and the differences of the former from the latter are satisfactorily explained by the circumstance that a constituent part foreign to Buddhists but belonging to the Zoroastrian religion has been adopted in the Manichaeism.

The fourth point wherein a plain contact of Manichaeism and of Buddhism presents itself, is the view of the destruction of the system of the universe. According to Buddhist opinion, all beings without exception, not even excepting the highest worlds are subject to inalterable laws of fate, and attain only a certain, though very high age. No spirit can withdraw itself from the relation of the *Samṣāra* nor attain the *Nirvāṇa* without having passed

1. s. above II, p. 68, note 4.

through it¹. It must look through all religions with equal clearness, and must recognise them in every form which they assume². There the *Nirvāṇa* the complete cessation of matter takes place, the vacuum which is situated beyond human cognition. According to the view of the Buddhists which is not the most ancient, but must nevertheless be considered older than Manichaeism, the spirit is eternal and becomes *Buddha* after its liberation or highest perfection by complete cognition. Also in Manichaeism the state of perfection is considered as perfect peace and deliverance from everything material ; Buddhism only goes further than the former, because in this highest state it yet distinguishes the spirit from the nothing and from the vacuum as something ; he who has become *Buddha* may either sink himself into the beyond of cognition, or may for the benefit of the captive spirits appear on earth when his time has come. The Manichaeism impeded by Zoroastrianism could not elevate itself to this step³. In this respect also, Manichaeism more closely follows the doctrine of Zoroaster, so that it supposes no repeated destructions and origins of worlds. It is true, according to the views of the Manichaeans their principles appear as personally acting intelligences ; among them however as among the Buddhists, there occurs a certain fatalistic view of the world, which has taken root in both systems, namely

1. I. J. Schmidt. *On the so-called third world of the Buddhists* in the *Mem. des sciences de St. Petersburg Vith. series sciences polit.* II p. 34 foll.

2. His *On the thousand Buddhas*, cf. *Ibid.* p. 44 and p. 62.

3. Bauer, i. q. w. p. 445.

that every evil, and every guilt must be atoned for by a general process of purification. This view of the world obtains hereby a moral character.

The fifth and last point, in which an exact agreement of Buddhism with Manichæism may be pointed out, is morality. This is in both systems based on the suppression of the passions and sexual propensities, on the withdrawal of the spirit from mundane occupations and its return to its own self. The four chief laws of the Buddhists are: not to fall under the guilt of theft, adultery and mendacity. Therefore these sins are called *parājika* or those expelling or excluding from the *saṅgha* or assembly of the clergy. The *ahiṃsā* i. e. the non-lesion of living beings, as we know, forms the chief law of Buddhism, and Buddha repealed the sanguinary offerings yet admitted by the Brahmans. Celibacy was incumbent on the monks and men living in convents. The first, second, and third of these laws accurately correspond with the three *Signanda** of the Manichæans. The *Signandum oris* enjoins purity of words and thoughts. The second, the *Signandum manus* includes within itself every injury of animal and of vegetable life, and therefore exactly agrees with the Buddhist *ahiṃsā*. The

1 Burnouf's *Introd. à l'hist de B. J.* I. p. 301.

2 Bauer, *l. c.* p. 248 foll. The expression *signandum* has, as is here remarked, no doubt been selected, because each of the three classes of the commandments distinguished in this way, designates a certain portion of the human body, with reference to which the commandments given, must be observed. On this occasion I remark that Bauer's comparison (1. p. 449) of the Manichæans with the Jainas is not admissible, because that sect cannot be pointed out at so early a time. [Lassen is wrong. The Jainas were older contemporaries of the Buddhists,—A. B.S.]

third, the *signandum sinus* makes chastity and abstinence from matrimony a duty to Manichæans, a continence, which, it is true, is obeyed only by one portion of the adherents of *Sākya-muni*, but which is nevertheless an argument for the intimate connection of Manichæism with Buddhism.

If we now summarize this result of the comparison of the doctrine of the Manichæans and of the Buddhists, the following agreements which are unmistakeable and deeply rooted in the nature of both religious systems have presented themselves, so that it will not be hazardous to suppose a ratio of dependency between both¹. If this be admitted, Buddhism alone has a just claim to be the source, from which a portion of the Manichæan doctrines has flown. To the internal evidences for it, also external arguments may be adduced. One of the most noteworthy testimonies for the relation of Manichæism to the Zoroastrian and Buddhist systems of religion is the formula of adjuration, adduced in the *anathemisms* and prescribed to the Manichæans.

But as, according to the preceding remarks *Skythianos* has been recognised as an unhistorical person, only *Zoroaster* and *Buddha* remain as the representatives of the two religions which have furnished the bases to the system of religion established by *Mani*. With the limitation that he had

1. Bauer, 1. q. w. p. 451 foll.

2. Galland Bibl. III, p. 611.

not himself brought his hearsay from India, but had become acquainted with it and had used it in a western country, also the above mentioned testimony of the Syrian *Ephraim* may be admitted as a confirmation of a fact secure on other grounds¹.

Before concluding the hitherto treated portion of Greek-Roman knowledge about India from the time between *Vikramāditya* and the fall of the older Gupta dynasty, it yet remains to examine, whether also between the Greek-Roman and the Indian systems of philosophy there exists so great an agreement that here also a communication may be supposed, and if such be the case, from what side that communication has proceeded. Hereby we can think only of the *Neoplatonists*, of some of whom it is certain that they were acquainted with the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, and esteemed them; because if the later *Stoics* like several Indian teachers, and especially the adherents of the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, considered the true cognition of the relation of the spirit to nature as the highest object of philosophy, and strived to attain this object by an equanimous demeanour towards all external influences, towards joy and pain, this agreement between the eastern and the western philosophisms may among the latter be considered as a natural, gradual development from the doctrines of the older stoics². The case is, on the contrary, different with the Neoplatonists. Of *Plotinus* the chief representative of Neoplatonism it is shown that

1. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient* I. p. 122 and s. above p. 406.

2. Heinrich Ritter's *Hist. of Philos.* IV, p. 416.

he esteemed the philosophy prevalent among the Persians and Indians so highly, that he concluded to accompany the emperor *Gordianus* in his campaigns against the Persians ; after the assassination of this emperor in the year 245 he returned to Rome¹. Of his most prominent disciple *Porphyrios* we have already seen, that he had occupied himself with the doctrines of the Brahmins and Samaneans and had drawn his information concerning them, from the book of *Bardasanes* who was for his familiarity with this subject, indebted to his intercourse with the Indian embassy to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*². Accordingly it may be supposed that the philosophical views of the Indians contributed to the formation of the doctrines of the Neoplatonists; the opposite case (to remark it here already) I consider impossible because the philosophical systems of the Indians, developed themselves naturally from each other, and no foreign influences can be perceived in their formation.

As far as the views of *Plotinus*, concerning the means of attaining true cognition, are concerned, he believes the science of truth to consist in the union of true objects, brought on by rational thinking³. To it pertains true self-cognition, that which reason possesses of its true nature, and by which it takes cognizance that it is itself the truth and the nature of men.

¹ *Works of Plotinus* in the ed. of G. H. Moser, and Fr. Geuzer, Cf. the biography of *Plotinus* by *Porphyrios* I. 3. II, a.

² s. above p. 362.

³ H. Ritter 1. p 453 foll.

Miscellaneous Articles

THE HAMJAMANA OF THE ŚILĀHĀRA RECORDS

BY GEORGE M. MORAES

There are a few Śilāhāra records of the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries, which mention a city called Hamjamana or Hamyamana, the location of which has caused some difficulty to the epigraphists. Chronologically arranged, these records are the Chikodi plates ¹ of the Southern Śilāhāra king Avasara III, dated A. D. 988, the Valipattana ² plates of Raṭṭarāja of the same family issued in 1010, and the Thana, ³ Bhandup, ⁴ Berlin Museum⁵, Prince of Wales Museum ⁶, Khārēpaṭan ⁷ and

¹ Chandorkar and Rajavade, 'Chikoḍi etuil śaka 910 til ek Tamrapata' *A. R. B. I. S. M.*, S. S. 1835, p. 434. The date according to Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris* is June 29, 988, the week-day not corresponding.

² Chakladar, 'The Valipattana plates of Raṭṭarāja', *I H. Q.* IV, p. 217, dated 24th December. 1010, (Pauṣa bahula 1, S. S. 932).

³ Carnac, 'An Indian Grant of Land,' *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357, (6th Nov. 1017 ; Kartika S 15, 98. 939) *E. I.* XII, 259.

⁴ Fleet, 'Bhandun Plates of Chittarajadeva,' *E. I.*, XII, p. 266 : dated Pillai, *op. cit.*, 9th Nov. 1026, week-day not corresponding. (Kartika S. 15, 948).

⁵ Of Chittarajadeva, dated 5th April, 1034. Waldschmidt, "Eine Schenkung-surkunde auf Kupferplatten usw" *Z. D. M. G.*, XC, p. 283 (Caitro S. 14, S.S. 956).

⁶ Upadhyaya, "A copper-plate grant of Mammuni : Saka 971," *E. I.*, XXV, p. 59 of 20th August, 1049, (Bhadra-pada S. 15, S.S. 971).

⁷ Telang, "A Silāhara Copper-Plate Grant," *I IX, A.*, p. 35 of Arikasari dated Māgha S. 1, SS. 1016, corresponding to 9th January, 1095.

the Vadavali plates ¹ of 1017, 1026, 1034, 1049, 1095 and 1129 respectively of the Northern Śilāhāra kings Arikēsari, Chittarāja, Mammuṇi, Anantapāla and Aparājita II.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshetji Modi, the late Parsee savant, sought to identify this city with Sanjan, a place 90 miles to the north of Bombay in the Dahanu taluka of the Thana district. In his opinion Sanjan was a corruption of which Hamjamana was the original form, the etymology of which was to be traced back to the term *anjuman*, which among the Parsees is understood to mean "an assembly, a large communal meeting." The word *trivarga* which occurs in these records, seemed to clinch the argument, for it was now explained as referring to the Avestic *thrayavan*, which denotes three grades of the priestly class among the Zoroastrians, the Dasturs the Mobeds, and the Herbeds. ²

Although this identification now seems generally accepted, ³ its accuracy was forthwith questioned by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. According to this scholar *trivarga* was a well established term indicative of the three higher orders of the Hindu society, and is actually used in this sense in the inscriptions where there is no mention at all of Hamjamana. ⁴

1. Pathak, "A Silar Grant of 1049" *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXI, p. 514 of Karttika S. 15 Plavanga Samvatsana, S. 1049 corresponding to 22nd October, 1127.

2. Modi, "The Ancient Name of Sanjan", *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XXI, pp. 4-18; *J. A.*, pp. 173-6.

3. *cf.* Kane, 'Notes on the Ancient History and Geography of the Konkan' *Oriental conference*, I, p. 378.

4. Kielhorn, 'Bhadana Grant of Aparājita,' *E. I.*, III pp. 271-6.

He also pointed out that from a philological point of view the natural order of succession was from *s* to *h* and not *vice versa*, and in consequence we might expect to have a form Hanjan from Saṁjamana, but not Sanjan from Haṁjamana. However, in thus rejecting the identification proposed by Dr. Modi, Dr. Fleet made a useful suggestion that the place should be looked for in some administrative unit of the Śilāhāra kingdom,¹ though on account of the scanty material then at hand, he was unable to point out the direction in which it lay.

An examination of the context in which this city is referred to will readily reveal that this suggestion is correct. The point, it may be agreed, is not so obvious in the Chikodi and the Valipaṭṭaṇa plates of the Southern Śilāhāras, and the Thana plates of Arikēsari. But the remaining records leave us in no doubt as to the intention of the author in making special mention of Haṁjamana. In announcing the gifts on each of these occasions the ruler concerned uses a set form of words :

अस्मिन्काले प्रवर्त्तमाने स च महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीमत्.....
सर्वानेव स्वसंबन्धमानकानन्यानपि समागामि राजपुत्रमं पुरोहिता-
मात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननैयोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिनगरपतिग्राम-
पतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुष जनपदांस्तथाहंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गा
प्रभृतीरच प्रणतिपुजासत्कार समादेशैः संदिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं
यथा ।

As Dr. Fleet translates it,

"At this current time, he, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara the illustrious makes a communication, with

expressions of salutation and worship and respect to all future sons of kings, counsellors, priests, councillors, ministers, minor ministers and functionaries, both those connected with himself and others too, also to the lords of the country, the lord of the district, the lord of the city, the lord of the village, the *Niyukta*, the *Aniyukta*, the king's men, and the country people, and also to the three classes of citizens, and others, of the city Hamyamana"¹

There can be no doubt that this was a formula employed by the Śilahāras in making state grants, which the king expected his administration throughout the kingdom to respect. Hamjamana is here singled out for special mention, doubtless because it was a new acquisition, unlike the old and settled parts, which could be treated in a general way.

That this is so is proved by the chronological order of the records. The earliest mention of this city, as we have seen, is in the Chikodi and the Valipaṭṭana plates of Avasara III and Raṭṭarāja of 988 and 1010 respectively. Hamjamana evidently was included in the kingdom of the Southern Śilahāras, when these plates were issued². The next mention of it is in the Thana plates of Arikēsari,

¹ Fleet, 'The Bhandup Plates of Chittārāja,' *E. J.* XII, p. 259.

² The fact that it is not mentioned in an earlier record of Raṭṭarāja does not justify the conclusion that it was acquired after that grant was issued, as Mr. Chakladar would have us believe (*Art. cit.*, p. 212), for the simple reason that it is already mentioned in the Chikodi plates of Avasara III, above referred to. The reason for its mention in the Southern Śilahara grant seems to be not only that it was an important place, but also that there should be no mistaking the locality in which the land granted by the king was situated.

seven years later, in 1017. It follows from this that sometime during this period Hañjamana had passed into the hands of the Northern Śilāhāras, since Arikesari is a king of this dynasty. We know from the few documents of these families that have come down to us that though they were of kindred stock, and even owed allegiance to the same overlords, their relations can by no means be described as friendly. The conflict between them would seem to have commenced as early as the reign of the southern Śilāhāra Avasara II and of his northern contemporary Kapardin II (c. 850-880 A. D.)¹ This was in connection with the buffer state of Chaul, whose preservation was vital to the integrity of the kingdom of the Southern Śilāhāras, but on whose annexation Kapardin was intent. The conflict seems to have dragged on for some time with indecisive results until at last in the reign of Jhañjha this long cherished object of the Northern Śilāhāra policy was achieved.* Still greater victories crowned the reign of Aparājita Mṛgāṅka, who is the first among the kings of this dynasty to claim sovereignty over the whole of the Konkaṇa 1400. Can there be any doubt that this extension of their kingdom could have taken place only at the expense of the southern kinsmen? Aparājita was a capable and ambitious ruler, and but for the fact that he incurred the displeasure of

¹ Cf. Chikodi and Valipaṭṭaṇa plates as above, and Kielhorn, 'Khārepatan Plates of Raṭṭarāja', *E. I.*, III, pp. 294 & 301.

² Prairies 'Or, II, p. 85 as in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt II, p. 17.

the Chalukyan Satyāśraya by refusing to recognise his overlordship, it seems almost certain that what had remained of the Southern Śilāhāra kingdom would have been annexed. He was hurried by the Chalukyas to such an extent that Aparājita, in the picturesque words of the poet Ranna, "trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire."¹ Thus it was left for his descendant Arikēsari to bring to its ultimate logical conclusion the consistent policy of the northern Śilāhāras. Nevertheless it is strange that in attributing to him sovereignty over the whole of Koṅkana 1400, the record should expressly say that 'many of these territories had been acquired by his own arm'²—a style, which is found to have been eventually conventionalized in his house. Now in view of the fact that the whole of this province had previously been subjugated by Aparājita Mṛganka, the fresh piece of information that many of these territories were conquered by the new king himself would show that they had to be recovered by Arikēsari. From whom were they recovered? It may reasonably be supposed that the misfortunes of Aparājita were availed of by the Southern Śilāhāras, possibly under Raṭṭarāja, who was partly his contemporary³, to retrieve the losses that they had suffered before. Raṭṭarāja, however, was no match to Arikēsari. The latter not only wrested the part of the Koṅkana 1400, which had been reconquered by his

¹ Natasimhachar, 'The Chalukya Genealogy according to the Kannada Poet Ranna', *J. A.*, XL, p. 41.

² Thana plates, as above, also *E. I.*, XII, p. 259.

³ Cf. Altekar, 'The Silaharas of Western India', *J. C.*, II, pp. 398 & 402.

adversary, but pushed his conquests further south, and the whole of the Southern Silāhāra kingdom fell to him. This is concluded from the fact that there are no more records of the southern Silāhāra dynasty, an almost conclusive proof that the dynasty came to an end with Raṭṭarāja as the last king. Now, since the city of Haṁjamana was situated in the kingdom of the Southern Śilāhāras, and was possibly promoted to the dignity of administrative headquarters ¹ of the new district, in thus honouring it with special mention, the Northern Śilāhāras were doing honour to themselves, by showing the point to which their kingdom stretched in the south.

This view is confirmed by yet another consideration. The fact is observed in the Northern Śilāhāra records that the city is referred to only in the plates of Arikēsari and of his immediate successors Chittarāja and Mammuṇi in 1017, 1025, 1034 and 1049. Then there is a gap of forty-five years, when it is again mentioned in the Khārēpaṭan grant of Anantapāla in 1095. This is significant. The explanation, however, is available in the contemporary records. We know from the Kadamba inscriptions how Shashtha-dēva seized upon the dominions of the Northern Śilāhārās and reduced

¹ From now onwards Valipaṭṭana, the old *rājadhāni* of the Southern Silāhārās ceases to be mentioned in the Northern Silāhāra records, a circumstance which enables us to conclude that on the fall of the Southern Silāhārās, it was divested of whatever political dignity there had remained to it after the transfer of the capital to Goa, being allowed to remain not even as the local headquarters, which were now transferred to Haṁjamana, probably a minor capital of the old kingdom.

them to vassallage. In describing this *digvijaya* a later inscription says, "As he took Kavadi-dvīpa and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Lankā, and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment (of the worship) of Rāma" ¹ Since Shashtha-dēva's own stone inscription found at Gandevi in Gajerat is dated Ś.S. 964 or 1042 A. D. it may be supposed that Śhashtha-dēva's *digvijaya* took place in 1040 or thereabout. But as seen above, Haṁjamana is mentioned in the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Mammūṇi in 1049. This is a clear indication that as soon as the strong hand of Shashtha-dēva, his overlord, was removed by death Mammūṇi attempted to repair his fortunes, and with considerable success. The new king Jayakēśi, however, rose equal to the occasion. He so far succeeded, that in the next inscription we have of Mammūṇi, that at Ambernath of 1060 A. D. ² there is no mention of Haṁjamana at all. But the struggle continued fierce, as is evident from the fact that Jayakēśi was compelled to give battle to the

¹ Barnett, 'The Narendra Inscription of the Chālutyaṅg Vikramāditya II and the Kodamba king Jayakesin II ;' *E. I. XII*, p. 309.

² Sastri, "Gandevi Inscription of Shastha II. *B.A.R.* 1039, p. 15. The *digvijaya* is described in this record: "He conquered the kings of Saurashtra, Andhra, Vindhya and Kanchi. He defeated in noval engagement the rulers of Simhala, Parasiika and Lanka. He arrived at Prabhasa with his fleet". The style of Narandra inscriptions seems to be more sober.

³ *J. B. A. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 219 ; *Ibid.*, XII, p. 329.

Śilaharas at so close a place to his capital as Valiapura, which seems to be another form of Valipaṭṭana.¹ This battle was hardly contested; Jayakeśi lost one of his generals, and if we are to believe a later Kadamba record, which claims that Jayakeśi killed the king of Kavadi-dvīpa, Mammuṇi himself fell in the action². Thereafter the victorious Kadamba armies marched northwards as far as the Lāṭa kingdom, and brought all the recalcitrant feudatories back to allegiance³. Though the death of Mammuṇi is not acknowledged in the Śilahara inscriptions, the Khārepaṭan plates of Anantapāla make it abundantly clear that the Śilahāra fortunes had suffered an eclipse shortly before his accession: "Upon that king Mammuṇi assuming an excellent body of renown (*i. e.*, on his death), Anantapāla, the son of Nāgārjuna, conversant with the whole circle of politics, whose body was purified by the highest piety, and who was an ornament to the princes of the Śilahara family became king. With the windlike force of his arm, he cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword those wicked heaps of sin, who at this time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated the whole Koṅkaṇ district by harassing gods and Brahmans, and then he a fiend of the lord of.....stamped his own

¹ Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, Appendix III, No. 3. I now realise that my earlier identification of this place with Velim in Salsette (*op. cit.*, pp. 180-81) is erroneous.

² Fleet 'Inscription relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa', *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*

fame on the face of the moon"¹. These 'wicked heaps of sin' could have been none other than the family of the Kadambas.

Here then is the explanation why Haṁjamana ceases for a time to be mentioned in the Northern Śilāhāra records. With the Śilāhāra armies hurled back, the Śilāhāra kings could not claim a city, which now indisputably formed part of the Koṅkaṇa 900 province of the Goa Kadambas. But it is far too much to say that as a result of the victories of Anantapala, described in the above-mentioned passage from the Khārepaṭṭan plates, the Kadambas were ousted from the Koṅkan². Nevertheless, the fact that Haṁjamana went out of their hands, would justify the conclusion that the Kadambas were compelled to cede the old Southern Śilāhāra territories. But it was hardly possible that the Kadambas would leave their enemies long in undisturbed possession of their new gains. It is worthy of note that the Khārepaṭṭan plates are the last Śilāhāra record to mention Haṁjamana. For though it is mentioned in the Vadavali plates of Aparāditya³, the claim is but an empty boast; and all doubts as to its immediate return to the Kadambas are resolved by the subsequent records of these kings, which ascribe to Jayakṣi II a rule over the Kavadi-dvīpa lakh and a quarter⁴, implying thereby that this province included besides the Koṅkaṇa 900, Koṅkaṇa 1400 of the Northern

¹ Telang, *Art. Cit.*,

² Altekar, *Art. Cit.*, p.

³ Pathak, *Art. Cit.*

⁴ Barnett, *Art. Cit.*, p. 323.

Śilāhāras, and other lands to the North of Bombay to which the Kadambas had penetrated in the glorious reigns of Shashtha-dēva and his son Jayakēśi I.

We have so far proved the correctness of the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that it was an administrative unit of the Northern Śilāhāras. We have also established the fact that it is to be looked for in the southern and not in the northern Konkan, and therefore the place names mentioned together with it in the Northern Śilāhāra grants cannot be expected to give us a clue as to its location. And even in the south Konkan, it could not have been on the other side of the Zuari, because this territory always belonged to the state of Chandrapura (Chandor), and lay outside the Southern Śilāhāra kingdom¹. The sphere of its probable existence may therefore be limited to the country north of this river, comprising Tisvadi, Bardes and the present state of Savantwadi, territories which formed the old kingdom of the Southern Śilāhāras.

In the present district of Bardes, in the Portuguese territory [of Goa, there is a village, which would seem to answer to the description of Hamjama, as given in the Valipattana plates of Raṭṭarāja, though in its present form the first letter h (ह) has disappeared—a fact which may partly be accounted for by Portuguese influence. But in the *Konkanākhyāna* a poem composed in the 18th century, which

¹ Kielhorn, 'Kharepaṭṭa plates of Raṭṭarāja,' *E. I.*, III, pp. 294, and 301, cf. Moraes, 'The Pre-Kadamba History of Goa, a paper read at the Indian History Congress' Hyderabad, December, 1941.

pretends to give a historical account of the Shenvis of Goa, Anjuna occurs under the form of Hapzun. This seems to have been the original, of which Hamjamana is the Sanskritized version. Our view will doubtless gain support, if the places mentioned in the Valipaṭṭaṇa plates can also be identified with places in the neighbourhood. These are a place named Āvaḍi¹, situated west of the village of agraḥārā Palaure, and two more local sub-divisions, *vis.*, Boribhaṭha and Gācoma to the north and the west of the sea shore respectively, which were all situated to the north of the river. Happily for us all these place names have survived, albeit with some modifications. They are to be found to the north of Anjuna, in a village called Siolim. The river here mentioned is the rivulet which separates Anjuna from the latter. Āvaḍi, now known as Vāḍi, is a ward of Siolim, and may have been the nucleus round which the present village has grown. Palaure may be identified with Paliam, and is in the direction mentioned in the grant. Boribhaṭha still retains the old position on the sea-shore, while Gācoma is probably Gaunsovaddo, another ward in Siolim to the north of the river, as specified in the grant.

¹ Chakaldar, *Art. Cit.*, pl. II. reverse, facing p. 214; also p. 218.

Reviews and Notices of Books

EAST AND WEST by Rene Guenon ; trans.
by W. Massey ; Luzac. and Co., Rs. 3.

Every culture worthy of the name has been founded on a metaphysical foundation. Every civilisation has a metaphysical basis, explicit or implicit. Rene Guenon explains how Mediaeval Europe and Asia were not far apart on the common ground of metaphysical and purely intellectual tradition. But modern Europe from the Renaissance, and more definitely with Descartes, forsook the unifying intellectual metaphysical truths that could bring the West closer to the East.

From the time of Descartes, modern nationalism begins to undermine the philosophy of the West. The present reaction of intuitionism and pragmatism against rationalism gives us a present day evident example of the conflicts that have made scorned the Mediaeval fundamentals of metaphysics and thus divided the West against itself. Scientists have been antagonistic to metaphysics and help to increase the disorder.

Just one year ago Mortimer J. Adler, of Chicago University, a famous professor of one of America's leading Universities, and a leader among psychologists for many years wrote :—

"The story of my gradual enlightenment can be briefly told. I began to understand the *tradition*

of European thought as I read, and reread, the great books which constitute our intellectual heritage. Reading those books, both philosophical and scientific, I came to see the decisive role which Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas had played in the formation of fundamental doctrines; for, whether their insights were accepted or rejected by later thinkers, they were always determinative of the basic issues. I found in the *De Anima* of Aristotle and in the *Treatise on Man* in the *Summa Theologica*, a thoroughly intelligible account of human nature and of the principles and causes of human behaviour—not only intelligible in itself, but thoroughly conversant with all the obvious facts of experience, quite compatible with all the physiology and neurology I had learned, and above all, a theory which was neither ashamed nor unable to make its *metaphysical foundations* both explicit and acceptable to reason. In the light of this theory, I could see at last the crucial errors of modern philosophy—the disastrous Cartesian mistake of regarding body and mind as separate substances, from which all the nonsense of the “mind-body problem” flows; the shallow materialism of Hobbes; the Platonic fallacies of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume; the misunderstanding of faculties as if they were agents rather than principles of operation, with the consequent restriction of psychological subject matter to “states of consciousness” or the “association of ideas”. At last I understood why the recently born science of psychology had revolted against philosophy. The only philosophy the embryo scientists knew

was this bad modern philosophy and they were quite right in wishing to be rid of it".

It should be evident now that we need different courses and better texts in our Colleges, East and West, to start our students on the way to true philosophy. Why should our young people be cheated of the great fundamental metaphysical principles of truth, goodness, intellectual harmony and basic unity? Instead they are given the confusing task of trying to memorize a contradictory set of so-called modern philosophers. What can result but a cynical or at least negative set of doctrines that not only makes the East think less of the West, but will divide the East against itself. The West has already shown by its own intellectual class and confusion the result of modern philosophy.

Guenon points the way to bring the East and West closer together. He wisely pleads for mutual understanding, an intimate intellectual penetration and sympathetic study undertaken from the 'inside' not from the 'outside'. Rightly does he say that Europe can recover her unity, intellectual treasures and return to peace in two ways. The first way is by going back to her lost Catholic unity and metaphysics. The second way, Guenon says, is by the study of the East and the doctrines of ancient Indian philosophy that one is to salvage the West. It seems to me true of Guenon himself (and he insists) that the East must teach the West how to return to what he calls 'that pure intellectual knowledge'. (P. 238.)

By way of negative criticism it is a duty to point out that Guenon has exposed himself perhaps to misunderstanding as he makes his thesis too simple and his solution too easy. Besides this, he says the West alone has the monopoly both of the vice of arrogance and also the virtue of humility. The last he hardly admits to be a virtue. Furthermore the need of moral purification and training of will that religion can bring is scarcely mentioned. The rich, sublime, fundamental truths that religion can teach to those who wish to believe, is not emphasised, but lightly passed over. This affinity of metaphysics to religion is mentioned in passing and he says if both can develop independently of one another the results could only end in harmonizing. There is a vagueness and lack of practical applications in some other most important aspects of his thesis that baffles one. But this thirst for more is certainly proof that Guenon has stimulated ideas and aroused the will to get down to the exalted task of uniting the East and West.

This book is most valuable to any-one willing to study, reflect and ponder. This is not light reading, but well worth one's effort and concentration for the deep and penetrating analysis given as reward. It is hard to avoid a certain mental dizziness when it is said that logic is not to hamper metaphysics. If this means we are to follow along contradicting or fighting logic then.....never...., but if it means at times we fly high seeming to transcend logic, and yet not contradict it then we must agree.

M. D. Moran, S. J.

**EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAIṢṆAVA
FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL
FROM SANSKRIT AND BENGALI
SOURCES** by SUSHIL KUMAR DE : Pp.
I-IV+535, Royal, Rs. 10. Published by the
General Printers and Publishers Ltd. 119
Dharamatala Street, Calcutta.

The religious ideology of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism in all its most important aspects is presented for the first time in a scholarly form to the English-reading public in this important treatise. The author has carried out with admirable zeal the exacting task of giving a direct summary and critical survey of almost all the voluminous works written in Sanskrit by the poets, scholars and devotees who had the privilege of being inspired by the personality of Caitanya. The range of subjects covered by the book is wide and varied. It includes a comparative study of the authenticity of the materials on the biography of Caitanya, as well as an illuminating interpretation of the Rasa śāstra, theology, philosophy, rituals, and literary works written during the period covered by 106 years, between the gathering of a band of Bengali poets like Narahari Sarkār, Bāsu Ghosh, Rāmānanda Basu and Śivānanda Sen in 1509 (the penultimate year of the Sanyāsa of Caitanya) and 1615, the date of completion of the

composition of Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj. The author is to be congratulated on his lucid explanation of the Sat Samdarbhas of Jīva Goswāmī, on which the philosophical superstructure of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism rests. These works are difficult and abstruse and the attempt made by a writer fifteen years ago to present their substance in English ended in failure; and the Bengali translations and commentaries, published from time to time by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas with insufficient philosophical training made them hardly more intelligible. Nearly one-third of the present work is devoted to the interpretation of the theology and philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and this is the most valuable part of the book. Of the other books summarised here for the first time, Hari Bhakti Vilāsa consists of 2670 pages and Gopāla Campū of 3940 pages in print. We have compared the original with the summary given by the author and have satisfied ourselves that no material and relevant fact has been omitted. The book under review reveals patience and erudition of the writer.

The author has not explained why the followers of Caitanya found it necessary to write so many books and why most of them were written in Sanskrit. Unlike the other schools of religious reformers in medieval India, the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism seems to have been inspired by the ideal of self-sufficiency in the religious and literary spheres. The early Church fathers of this sect wrote special books on grammar, prosody, poetics, philosophy, theology, and rituals and composed

songs, poetical works and dramas so that its adherents may have all the education they required without reading any profane book. In the *Harināmāmṛta Vyākaraṇa*, Śrī Jīva Goswāmī calls all the grammatical forms by the different names of Kṛṣṇa, so that a student of grammar may not have to utter any other name than that of Kṛṣṇa. All the illustrations in the works on poetics and prosody by Rūpa Goswāmī and Kavikarṇapūr are taken from *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Vernaculars of different provinces became the vehicles of propaganda of medieval reformers but the followers of Caitanya preferred to write the scriptures of the new sect in Sanskrit, because, the sect made a large number of converts not only from Bengal but also from Assam, Orissa, Bihar, the United Provinces, Karnata and Dravida, for whom the only common language could be Sanskrit and because they had the ambition of making their cult the religion of the whole of India. This might be one of the reasons why the Vṛndāvana Goswāmīs did not put forward the worship of Caitanya in the forefront, although they have expressed at many places their firm belief in the absolute identity of Caitanaya with Kṛṣṇa and Jīva Goswāmī has unequivocally called Caitanya as "the presiding deity of his own Sampradāya". In 1934 the author in his learned introduction to Rūpa Goswāmī's *Padyāvalī* wrote that Rūpa, Sanātan and Jīva "are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system in Caitanya's name they rely exclusively upon older sources and do not refer at

all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in the Namaskriyās and miscellaneous devotional verses is hardly ever discussed". This remark made a Calcutta University teacher conclude that the Goswāmīs "in their voluminous writings never identify Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa" (India and the World Dec. 1934). The reviewer tried to refute (in his Caitanya Chariter Upādān, Calcutta University, 1939) this erroneous view by quoting and discussing all the relevant passages from the writings of the Goswāmīs, showing their belief in the identity of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa. Dr. De has, in the present book, quoted all such passages and has admitted now that "the Vṛndāvana Gosvamins of Caitanyaism implicitly accept Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, even if they explicitly declare only his Avatāratva" (page 337). At another place, however, he says that Jīva Goswāmī "does not utter a single word about Caitanya-concept in itself, as well as in relation to the Kṛṣṇa-concept, with which latter concept he appears to be entirely occupied". But he himself has admitted that Jīva in his Sarva-Samvādinī (pages 1-4) discusses "the Avatāratva of Caitanya", (page 319). Dr. De has only incidentally referred to Sarva-Samvādinī, but this work is as important as the six Saṁdarbhas and as such should have been treated as fully as the Saṁdarbhas. Had he cared to do so he would have found that Jīva tries to prove from Bhāgavata that Caitanya is the object of worship in the Kali Yuga

श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यदेवनामानं श्रीभगवन्तं कलियुगेऽस्मिन् वैष्णव-
जनोपास्यावतारनयार्थविशेषालिङ्गितेन श्रीभागवतपद्यसंवादेन
स्तौति । Dr. De is constrained to admit (P. 336, footnote) that "Jīva appears inclined to accept Caitanya as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, but he also uses the technical word Āvirbhāva". He should have explained the significance of the term Āvirbhāva, which means "manifestation in all respects". (तस्मात् तस्मिन् सर्वथा श्रीकृष्णरूपस्यैव प्रकाशात् तस्यैव साक्षादविर्भावः स इति भावः=सर्वसम्वादिनी) It seems that the identification of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa was so complete that the Goswāmīs did not think it necessary to establish Caitanya-worship separately. According to a tradition recorded in the Bhaktiratnākara (early 18th Century), Kāśīśvara who is respectfully mentioned in the Introduction to Haribhaktivilāsa and Vṛhat Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī placed the image of Caitanya by the side of Govinda, worshipped by Rūpa Goswāmī.

The author's estimate of the ethics of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is disappointing. In his summary of the XIth Vilāsa of Haribhaktivilāsa he has dismissed the rules of virtuous conduct and traditional usages for Vaiṣṇava householder as "too long and detailed to be summarised". Had he given a summary of the pages 1375 to 1404 the readers would have been able to judge for themselves whether the ethical principles of the school "fail to furnish the motive for any strenuous social or individual morality". As a matter of fact, he has forgotten to refer to these rules of conduct or those mentioned in the Bhagvad-Gītā,

which a devout Vaiṣṇava is enjoined by Rūpa Goswāmī (*Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* p. 108) to read every day. The ideal, for attaining which the Vaiṣṇava devotee strives, is that of Akaitava Prema, love towards God without any selfish motive. He does not pray for wealth, beauty, worldly happiness, or even the happiness in life after death. In his servitude to God he is enjoined upon to efface from his mind the desire of his own pleasure in serving. If such a complete effacement of the self is not a high ethical ideal for the individual, we do not know what it is. As regards social morality, it is certainly promoted by the efforts at the sublimation of passions, to which the entire devotional system is directed. Had the writer got the opportunity of associating with genuine Vaiṣṇavas and seeing for himself how the life in the villages in Bengal is enlivened by the group singing and the subtle influence of the Ākharās of Vaiṣṇavas, he would have certainly modified his estimate. The author is certainly wrong in thinking that the religious attitude of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas "consists entirely of erotico-mystic susceptibilities" (page 421). Rūpa Goswāmī has made it quite clear that the general mass of devotees is to follow the Vaidhi-Sādhana-Bhakti, which includes "following examples of saintly persons, renunciation of worldly enjoyment for the sake of Kṛṣṇa and worship by the body, the senses and the mind". It is only for the selected few that the Rāganuga Bhakti is prescribed and Dr. De himself has summarised its implication as "emotional sublimation of intimate human

ments towards Kṛṣṇa" (page 132). The whole trend of culture and civilisation stands condemned if we admit that efforts at sublimation have "demoralising tendencies" (page 419) or that "the intimate subtilising of erotic details, however transfigured, is bound to be characterised as a psychological and ethical aberration rather than as a healthy ennobling religious mood" (page 419). It would have been better if the author had stuck to his original idea of attempting an exposition of Caitanyaism by giving a direct summary and survey of all its earlier important works as he promised to do in his Preface. He should remember the warning he uttered in the Preface that "it is more important to know what the promulgators of the faith themselves have recorded than..... read alien as well as anachronistic ideas into their standard works", and to omit the third section of Chapter VI (Ethics of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism) and to modify the last section of Chapter V (Caitanya-worship as a cult), in which the conclusions drawn by him are not borne out by the premises he has stated.

Dr. De has devoted a long time to the intensive study of psychology and Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and yet he refuses to recognise the superiority of Intuitionism over Intellectualism. He writes that "as days went Caitanya's life became marked by progressive nervous instability; and in proportion to the excess of frenzied emotionalism there was steady deterioration of his intellectual gifts". Such an estimate is hardly fair to the personage whose Bhagavad.bhāva,

according to that giant amongst intellectuals, Jīva Goswāmī, "has been well established by the insight of endless believers in the Bhāgavat".

The author has made a few other remarks which are not fully warranted by facts. He writes that Gadādhara used to put on the dress of Rādhā (page 70), but we have not found any evidence of this in the standard biographies of Caitanya. He describes Raghunātha Das Goswāmī as the composer of erotic-mystic songs in Bengali (page 86), but of the three padas ascribed to him in the Padakalpataṛu, one is a panegyric on Jayadeva, another relates to the beauty of Rādhā and the third one describes the Ārati of Bāl Gopāla. We think that Raghunātha Das wrote nothing in Bengali. Dr. De suggests that the Paramānanda, mentioned by Rūpa in Stavamālā might be Kavi-karṇapur (page 322) ; but as the name is mentioned along with Advaita, Śrīvāsa and Svarupa, the intimate and elderly companions of Caitanya, it must be that of Paramānanda Puri, a disciple of Madhavendra Puri. Rūpa Goswāmī quotes Paramānanda Sen's poem in his Padyāvalī and calls him by his poetic title Karṇapūr. Dr. De carries his scepticism too far when he says that to attribute the famous Brajabulī Pada, "Pahilehe raga" to Rāmānanda Roy (page 70) is the height of absurdity. Kavi-karṇapūr not only quoted the song but also versified it into Sanskrit in his Caitanya Caritāmṛtam, which was written only nine years after the death of Caitanya. Other high authorities like Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj in the early seventeenth century and Rādhāmohan Thakur in the early

eighteenth century also attributed this pada to Rāmānanda Rai. The language of Vidyāpati enthralled the mind of all the learned mystics of eastern India of that age and it is not at all surprising that a cultured mystic like Rāmānanda Rai, though an Oriya, would write a song in imitation of the immortal poet of Mithila.

In spite of these minor defects the book will rank as an Encyclopaedia of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Dr. De may be said to have rendered the same service to the English-reading public as was done by Kṛṣṇadas Kavirāj for the Bengali readers in the early seventeenth century. The scientific spirit of investigation in the twentieth century has made Dr. De's work more accurate and comprehensive than that of Kṛṣṇadas Kavirāj. But if the latter had erred in his excessive zeal for propaganda, the present author has gone to the other extreme of being too sceptical of mystic experiences.

Bimanbehari Majumdar

CLASH OF THREE EMPIRES *By* V. V.
JOSHI, M. A., (Oxon) Kitabistan, Allahabad ;
6×5½, p. 207, 1941.

The book bears a sensational title and has an attractive get-up. In the Foreword Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has rightly said that the book, "does not aim at providing fresh material on the subject; nor does it supply a critical apparatus for the study of the sources". Amongst the sources utilised by the author, that bazar-gossip-monger, Manucci has been quoted with approval at eight places, Orme has been quoted once and the author has also depended largely, on Bernier's travels and the published Poona Residency Correspondence. The value of conclusions drawn from such one-sided sources can easily be imagined. The author apparently wanted to draw philosophical conclusions from the struggle between the Mughals, the Marathas and the British in India in the 18th Century. But practically nothing has been written on the clash between the Marathas and the Mughals. The Mughals can hardly be said to possess an Empire in the 18th Century. The Marathas, in the opinion of the author, followed the mode of Tartars, "collected their tribute or looted but did not establish his own permanent administration" (page 76). If this be true, the Maratha power could hardly be called an Empire. At the end of the 18th Century, Assam, Orisra, the Punjab, Sind,

North-Western Frontier Province, Oudh and many parts of the Central Province, Rajputana and Bombay had not been conquered by the British. As such, the British Indian Empire in 1799 or even in 1806 was not an accomplished fact. The title of the book therefore is more sensational than accurate.

The book bristles with self-contradictory statements. In page 49 the author says that the Maratha nation-state "was responsible for the exhaustion of the Mughal power"; in page 59 he states that the Maratha "power was suffered to remain and even secretly approved of by the Mughals". In page 69 he denies that the religious movement in the Maharashtra was anti-Islam and that "the Maratha power was not a religious reaction amongst the Hindus against the tide of Islam". In page 80, however, the writer says that Ramdas was chiefly responsible for the anti-Muslim propaganda in the Maharashtra.

The writer subscribes to the view of John Katz that the "Indians are the most defeated of all the defeated civilized peoples of the world". His book will strengthen that feeling of defeatism.

Bimanbehari Majumdar.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's Office on Sunday, August 2, 1942 at 8-30 A. M.

*Present:—*The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, (in the Chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Right Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.
Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 8, 1942.

2. Passed the monthly statement of accounts for the months, February to June, 1942.

Passed the Annual Statement of Accounts for the year 1941-42.

3. Passed the revised Budget for 1942-43 and the Budget Estimate for 1943-44.

4. Passed payments of the following bills :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
(a) Messrs. Motilal Banarsi	54	8	0
Dass's Bills No. 510, 521			
and 529,			

		Rs.	a.	p.
(b)	P. Garibnath Jha's Bill— Purchase of MSS.	75	0	0
(c)	P. Kedarnath Jha's Bill— Purchase of MSS.	25	0	0
(d)	Patna Law Press Bill No. 77/42—Printing charges of Annual Reports and Cards etc. for the Annual Meeting.	65	6	3
(e)	Patna Law Press Bills No. 96/42, 47/42 and 14/42 printing charges of December Journal 1941 and Stationery.	590	11	3
(f)	India Society Annual Sub- scription.	13	12	3
(g)	P. Srinandan Jha's Bill— Purchase of Manuscripts.	200	0	0
(h)	Messrs. Chuckerverty Chatter- jee and Co.'s Bill for books.	14	12	0
(i)	Messrs. Newman & Co.'s Bill for books.	30	4	0
(j)	Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala & Co.'s Bill for books.	16	5	0
(k)	Patna Law Press Bill for printing March Journal, 1942.	435	12	0
(l)	Messrs. Chiraguddin & Sons bill for three Steel Trunks.	120	0	0
(m)	Conveyance charges for above.	1	8	0
(n)	Bangalore Press Bill for books.	17	4	0

5. Elected Babu P. C. Rath, Superintendent of Archæology, Patna State as an ordinary member of the Society.

6. Read Mr. W. G. Archer's D. O. Letter No. 1151/6, dated June 6, 1942 offering to make over to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society copies of his published works on Bihar Anthropology and Ethnology. The proceeds of copies sold to be credited to the accounts of the Society, Mr. Archer being free at any time to take from the stock whatever copies he required free of charge.

Accepted his generous offer with thanks.

7. Passed a resolution of condolence on the death of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., one of the foundation members of the Society.

8. Considered the advisability of exchange with the Journal of the Literary Committee, Dharwar.

Agreed to the proposal for exchange.

9. Considered Government Memo. No. 1669 E, Government of Bihar, Education Department.

The council agrees with the five year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department and the recommendation of the Research and Publication Committee,

A. Benerji-Sastri

Honorary General Secretary.

4-8-1942.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 27th September, 1942 at 9-30 A. M.

Present :

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, (in the Chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. R. E. Russell came in a few minutes after the meeting having been detained at another meeting.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on August 2, 1942.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of July and August 1942.

3. Passed payments of the following bills :—

	Rs. as.p.
a) Rs. 225 on account of purchase of manuscripts and old printed books.	225 0 0
(b) Patna Law Press Bill No.182/42 printing charges of Journal June issue 1941	437 1 0

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| | Rs. a. p |
| (c) Patna Law Press Bill No.183/42 | 46 1 0 |
| printing charges of Index to | |
| Journal for the year 1941. .. | |
| (d) Rajaram's Bill for writing out | 15 0 0 |
| Index to Journal for the year | |
| 1941 | .. |

4. Considered the necessity of sanctioning Living Allowance to the two peons of the Society as sanctioned by Government to Government employees *vide* Finance Department No. 4452-F., dated 14-7-42 (Re. 1 for July) and Resolution No.5004-F. dated September 3, 1942 (Re.2-8 from August, 1942).

Resolved that the Living Allowance be sanctioned at Government rates.

5. Read letter No. 1968-E., dated the 7th September, 1942 from the Deputy Secretary to Government, Education Department in connection with item No. 3 of the Budget Estimate for 1943-44 of the Society (Cataloguing of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bihar).

The Honorary General Secretary is directed to write to the Deputy Secretary that in the letter referred to the Society requested the extension of the Grant for cataloguing of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mithila "for the present" for two years 1941-42, 1942-43.

As the result of the search in 1941-43 have been satisfactory, a further extension of one year 1943-44 is requested. The Deputy Secretary will be informed by the Council of the Society before the

end of the year, when the services of the Mithila Pandit engaged in cataloguing the manuscripts may be definitely terminated.

6. Considered Mr. Archer's letter, dated the 18th September, 1942. Re. *A Munda Song Book* published by him. Resolved that such "publications deserve to be assisted, that 50 copies at Rs. 4 a copy be purchased by the Society and stocked in the Society's office and be resold on behalf of the Society.

A. Banerji-Sastri

Honorary General Secretary,

27-9-1942.



Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
Annual Statement of Accounts for the year, 1941-42.

INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Heads,	Actuals 1941-42.	Revised Budget 1941-42.	Heads.	Actuals 1941-42.	Revised Budget 1941-42.
Government Grant :—					
Library	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Library	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment	.. 1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Establishment	.. 886 12 0	1000 0 0
Cat. of Mithila MSS.	.. 1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	Mithila Pandit	.. 1,256 12 0	1,256 0 0
Journal	.. 1,533 0 0	1,533 0 0	Journal	.. 1,360 13 0	1,608 0 0
Postage Recovered	.. 1,600 0 0	1,600 0 0	Postage	.. 1,700 14 3	2,000 0 0
Subscription	.. 8 15 0		Stationery	.. 230 2 0	400 0 0
Sale of Journal	.. 1,355 10 0	900 0 0	Electrical Charges	.. 36 9 6	90 0 0
Miscellaneous	.. 627 14 3	150 0 0	Miscellaneous	73 12 9	100 0 0
Interest on Public Acct.	.. 4 3 0		Furniture	141 3 3	350 0 0
Sale of Cat. of Mithila Mss.	143 15 6	70 3 4		32 8 0	
Sale of Buchanan Reports.	8 12 0				
	22 0				
Opening Balance :—					
Huthwa Fund	.. 151 0 6	151 0 6	Closing Balance :—		
Darbhanga Fund	.. 271 2 3	271 2 3	Huthwa Fund	173 0 6	
Mayurbhanj Fund	.. 210 14 9½	210 14 9½	Darbhanga Fund	279 14 3	
Tibetan Expedition	.. 503 9 9	503 9 9	Mayurbhanj Fund	210 14 9½	
General Balance	.. 2,726 1 3½	2,726 1 3½	Tibetan Expedition	503 9 9	
			General Balance	4,270 5 3½	2,808 6 2
Total	.. 11,157 2 4	10,115 15 11	Total	11,157 2 4	10,115 15 11
					S. Bahadur.

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[PART IV

Leading Articles

A FEW CHRISTIAN WRITERS ON
EARLY INDIA

By A. C. PERUMALIL, S. J.

A. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Thus far we have seen the various relations which existed between India and Europe, and the geographical knowledge of the Greeks and Romans regarding India and her people. Besides, we have just cited the geographical boundaries of India, Persia and Arabia Felix, as given by the early classical and ecclesiastical writers. Let us now direct our attention to some of these writers in particular. The first in order will be Clement of Alexandria.

Clement (150-216) lived in Alexandria, a city that was the meeting place of all the nations of the civilised world at that time. People from India, Greece and Rome met there and exchanged their ideas and their merchandise. "But I see," says Dion Chrysostom, "not only Greeks, Italians, etc.,

in the midst of you (Alexandrians), but also Bactrians and Skythians, and Persians, and some of the Indians who view the spectacle with you, and are with you on all occasions"¹.

Being thus surrounded by peoples of different nations Clement had all the facilities of knowing about India and her people. He had read the 'Indika' of Megasthenes² and the 'Indika' of Alexander Polyhistor³, and had gathered much knowledge from them. He quite clearly makes mention of Ethiopia⁴ and India⁵ as different countries, and speaks of Indians, Ethiopians, Persians and Arabia-Felicians⁶ as separate people. He thus shows that his India is quite a different country from Ethiopia, Persia and Arabia Felix.

He speaks of the Brahmins living in India. These Brahmins, he says, "neither eat anything that has life nor drink wine"⁷. Among the Gymnosophists of India he recognises two sects—the Brahmins and the Sramanas. "These (Sramanas—Jaina ascetics)," he writes, "worship a kind of pyramid (stupa) beneath which they imagine that the bones of a divinity of some kind lie buried"⁸. "These go about naked throughout their lifetime"⁹. Thus Clement gives us to understand that his India

1 Dion. Chrysostom. Oratio. 32, McE. p. 215.

2 Clement. Stromata. i. 15; MG. 8. 781.

3 *Ibid.* 3. 7; MG. 8. 1164.

4 Clement. Pedagogics. 3. 2; MG. 8. 560.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Clement. Stromata. i. 15; MG. 8. 769.

7 *Ibid.* 3. 7; MG. 8. 1164.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

is none other than the India of the classical writers.

b. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.

Eusebius, Church historian and bishop of Caesarea was born about the year 265 A.D. In 313, shortly after the publication of the edict of Milan, he was elected bishop of Caesarea. Ten or twelve years of peace went by, during which he was able to write the books that have won for him the reputation of being the most learned man of his time. He was one of the best read men of his days; and in his work indefatigable. He read everything whether secular or ecclesiastical. Hence he was in a position to know about the different countries and the peoples of the East.

It is evident, for one who cares to read through his complete works, that he makes clear distinction regarding the nations of the East as Ethiopian, Egyptian, Arab, Arabia-Felician, Persian, Indian, etc. From the context in which these terms are used it is clear also that for him these nations were those which inhabited Ethiopia, Egypt, Arabia, Arabia Felix¹, Persia, India, etc. respectively. For India, he uses such terms as *He India*, *He Indon ge*, *He Indon oikonmne*, *He Indon chora*. And it is evident from the context that these terms signify India. He recognises only one India, *i. e.* the India where the Brahmins live. His description of the journey of Apollonius of Tyana to India to

¹ Eusebius, *Evangelic preparation*, 2. 2; MG. 21. 117; *Comment, on Psalms*, 7. 1. 15, 16; MG. 23. 813.

the Brahmins * explicitly shows that he had a definite idea of the geographical position of India.

C. ST. AMBROSE OF MILAN.

St. Ambrose of Milan (333-397) was a man thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, and as such he had gained information regarding India and her people. In fact, he wrote a treatise "*De Moribus Brachmanorum*", addressed to a certain Palladius, a Greek. In this work he expresses the theory of abnegation and the life of the Brahmins by introducing the famous discussion between the Brahmin called Dandamis and Alexander the Great. In the prologue to this work he says: "Since I, in fact, have not seen either them (the Brahmins) or their country,—for, they are separated from our Europe by a vast stretch of land—, I will try to narrate to you only those things I have heard from others and gathered from authors.... First, therefore, our brother Museus, the bishop of the Doleni, related to me that when going to the Indies, some years ago, with the intention of visiting the Brahmins he travelled through nearly the entire region of Serica"². This Museus had obtained further details regarding India from a certain Theban scholar who visited

1 Eusebius. *Against Herocles*. 10 sq.; MG. 22, 813 sq.

2 Ambrose. *De Moribus Brach.*; ML 17. 1131. "Ego quippe cum neque ipsos, neque ipsorum viderim loca (longo enim terrarum spatio a nostra Europa sunt sejuncti), ea tibi dumtaxat quae ab aliis audiui, et quae a scriptoribus desumpsi, enarrare tentabo.... Primum igitur Musaeus frater noster Dolenorum episcopus, mihi retulit, quod ipse aliquot ante annos ad Indias Brachmanos visendi studio profecturus, Sericam fere universam regionem peregravit."

India in person. Ambrose now describes the journey of this Theban scholar to India in these terms: "Wherefore, he going on board a ship with some merchants in the Erythraean sea or Mare Rubrum sailed first to the gulf of Adulis, saw the town of the Adulitans, then the promontory of Aromata, and came to the emporium of the Troglodytes; thence he touched the lands of the Auxumitans, whence he sailed with favourable winds. After many days voyage he came to Muziris, the emporium of all India on this side of the Ganges".

Not only here but in other places too he speaks of the Gymnosophists of India, of the Indian Ocean, of the Ganges river, and of Persia. Egypt and Ethiopia are different from India in his mind; so too the desert of Arabia. He does not confuse India with other countries. His India is the India described above.

d. ST. JEROME.

St. Jerome (342—420) "was a scholar, and incontestably the most erudite of the Latin Fathers not excepting even St. Augustine. His erudition extended even to profane literature, of which he had read at least all the Latin productions; but it embraced particularly Christian literature, the

1 *Ibid.* ML. 17. 1133. "Quocirca cum quibusdam mercatoribus in Erythraeo, sive Rubro mari, navim conscendens, navigavit primo sinum Adulicum, et Adulitarum oppidum vidit, mox Aromata promontorium, et Troglodytarum emporium penetravit, hinc et Assumitarum loca attigit, unde solvens prosperis ventis, licet plurimum navigatione dierum, Muzirim totius Indiae citra Gangem emporium tandem pervenit."

remains of which, both Greek and Latin, were all known to him. He knew three languages well, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and also Chaldaic or Aramaic, and had a thorough acquaintance with biblical history and geography, Church history, and the lives of the Fathers" ¹. Such being his erudition, he had all the facilities of knowing from the classical writers a detailed knowledge of India.

He describes the journey of Apollonius of Tyana to India and his return in these terms: "Apollonius entered (the country of) the Persians, crossed the Caucasus, (the country of) the Albanians, Scythians and Massagetes; he penetrated the rich kingdoms of India, and crossing the broadest river Phison (Ganges) finally came to the Brahmins....Thence returning to Alexandria passing through (the country of) the Elamites, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Medes, Assyrians, Parthians, Syrians, Pheonicians, Arabs and Palestinians he went on to Ethiopia to visit the Gymnosophists and the famous table of the Sun in the sand" ². In another place he gives the route from Mauritania to India thus: "They go to India from Mauritania

¹ Tixeront. HP. p. 254.

² Jerome. Epist. 53. Ad Paulinum, 1; ML. 22. 541. "Apollonius intravit Persas pertransivit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Massagetas, opulentissima Indiae regna penetravit et ad extremum latissimo Physon amne (Gange) transmisso pervenit ad Brachmanes;inde per Elamitas, Babylonios, Chaldaeos, Medos, Assyrios, Parthos, Syros, Phoenices, Arabes, Palaestinos, reversus Alexandriam, perrexit Aethiopiam, ut Gymnosophistas, et famosissimam Solis mensam videret in sabulo."

passing through Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicæa, Coelen Syria, Osrhohen, Mesopotamia and Persia"¹.

He speaks of the Buddhists and the Brahmins and describes their mode of life: "Bardesan, a man of Babylon, divides the Gymnosophists of the Indians into two sects: one sect he calls the Brahmins, the other Samanes, who are so abstemious that they eat either the fruits of the trees near the Ganges river, or rice or flour supplied by the public; and the king, when he comes to them, is accustomed to adore them and consider that the peace of his province depends on their prayers"². Still in another place, quoting this mortified life of the Brahmins he exhorts the virgin Laeta to a higher Christian perfection. "The Brahmins of the Indians and the Gymnosophists of the Egyptians live only on barley, rice and fruits; why should not a virgin of Christ imitate this entirely?"³. He is also aware of the Sati practised in India. He says: "Among them (Indians) there is a law

1 Jerome. Epist. 129 Ad Dardanum, 4; ML. 22. 1104; Vindobon 56. 170. "A Mauritania per Africam et Aegyptum Palaestinamque et Phœnicem, Coelen Syriam et Osrhohenem, Mesopotamiam, atque Persidem tendunt ad Indiam."

2 Jerome. Adversus Jovianum, 2. 14; ML. 23. 304. "Bardesanes, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos, Gymnosophistas dividit: quorum alterum appellat Brachmanes; alterum Samanaeos: qui tantæ continentiae sint, ut vel pomis arborum juxta Gangem fluvium, vel publico orizae, vel farinae alantur cibo: et cum rex ad eos venerit adorare illos solitus sit. pacemque suae provinciae in illorum praecibus arbitrari sitam."

3 Jerome. Epist. 107. Ad Laetam, 8; ML. 22. 874. "Indorum Brachmani, et Aegyptiorum Gymnosophistae in polentae et orizae, et pomorum solo observant cibo, cur virgo Christi non faciat in toto?"

that the dearest wife is cremated with her dead husband" ¹.

He knew not only Northern India with the land route leading to it but also Southern India with its sea route. He says : "The sailors of the Red Sea, in which we must wish that the true Pharaoh was drowned with his army, arrive at the city of Auxum after many difficulties and perils. On both shores live nomads and even very ferocious beasts. Always on the look-out and always armed, they convey the food materials for the whole year. The sea is full of hidden rocks and rough shoals so that the lookout and instructor sits on the high mast and gives orders how to direct and turn the ship. Happy is the voyage if after six months they reach the port of the above-mentioned city, whence the open sea begins ; it takes almost a year to reach India and thence the river Ganges...." ².

¹ Jerome. *Adversus Jovianum*. 1. 44 ; M.L. 23. 274 ; "Apud eos lex est, ut uxor charissima cum defuncto marito cremetur."

² Jerome. *Epist.* 125 *Ad Rusticum Monachum* 3 ; M.L. 22. 1074 ; Vindobon. 56. 121. "Navigantes Rubrum mare, in quo optandum nobis est, ut verus Pharaoh cum suo mergatur exercitu, multis difficultatibus ac periculis ad urbem Auxumam perveniunt. Utroque in littore Gentes vagae, imo belluae habitant ferocissimae. Semper solliciti, semper armati, totius anni vehunt cibaria. Latentibus saxis vadisque durissimis plena sunt omnia, ita ut speculator, et doctor in summa mali arbore sedeant, et unde regendae et circumflectendae navis dictata praedicet. Felix cursus est, si post sex menses supradictae urbis portum teneant, a quo se incipit aperire Oceanus ; per quem vix anno perpetuo ad Indiam pervenitur, et ad Gangem fluvium...."

In this letter St. Jerome is alluding to the sailing of Roman ships round Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Ganges

The chief port of India to which the Romans came at this time, was Muziris, situated in the pepper country of Malabar. Jerome knew this country and the chief article of trade which was so dear to the Romans. Hence he says: "*Pulegium* (pennyroyal) is more precious to the Indians than pepper".

St. Jerome, therefore, knew India, Arabia, Ethiopia and Persia as countries different and distinct from one another, and from the details given above it is clear that he knew India as well as any of the classical writers.

Thus we can go on examining every one of the 42 Christian authors of the period who wrote about India and her people. Most of these like Clement, Eusebius, Origen, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Cosmas, Jerome, Ambrose, Paul Orosius, Augustine, Sidonius, Avitus and Isidore of Seville have given us many passages concerning India, which go to prove that they knew India fairly well.

But there are others who have only one or two passing references to India. Gregory of Nazianzen, for example, uses the word India only once. But he gives us many references to Ethiopia, Parthia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc. in his writings. Hence we can readily conclude that his India is the same as that described above.

1 Jerome. Epist. 146 Ad Evangelium, 2; ML. 22.

INDIA AND RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA.

At this point it might be well to examine the oft quoted text of Rufinus, and also the position of our adversaries. We begin with Rufinus of Aquileia.

Rufinus was born in 345 A. D. at Concordia near Aquileia in Italy. He studied in Rome, where he was intimate with Jerome; later on he became a monk at Aquileia. In 371 he visited Egypt and spent there six years. He then went over to Jerusalem, in the vicinity of which he finally settled down. Later on he returned to Italy where he remained till the invasion of Italy by the Visigoths in 407. About this time he went to Sicily where he died in 410 A. D.

Rufinus, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' has given us the life of St. Frumentius in these terms: "In that division of the world made by the Apostles for the preaching of the word of God, by drawing lots, while different provinces fell to different Apostles, Parthia fell to Thomas; to Matthew fell Ethiopia; and the Citerior India adherent to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew. Placed between this (Citerior India) and Parthia, but far to the interior, lies Ulterior India, inhabited by peoples of many and diverse tongues. This place, so remote that no ploughshare of apostolic preaching had touched it, received the first seeds of faith in the days of Constantine in some such manner as this¹.

1. As this first part is very important for our study the original text is given here in full. "In ea divisione orbis

A certain Metrodorus, a philosopher, for the sake of visiting places and examining the world, is said to have penetrated into Ulterior India. A certain Meropius, too, a philosopher of Tyre, being invited by his example, desired to go to India for similar reasons, taking with him two boys whom he was training in liberal literature. The younger of these was called Edesius, and the other Frumentius. While the philosopher began to return after having seen and picked up all the information his mind sought for, the ship in which he was sailing put in at a certain port to take in water and other necessities. When news reaches them from their neighbours that the treaty with the Romans is broken, it is the custom of the barbarians in those parts to kill all the Romans found among them. So they board the ship of the philosopher and put to death all the men together with him. The boys, found meditating and preparing their lessons under a tree, were brought to the king by the mercy of the barbarians. The second among these, that is, Edesius, the king makes his cupbearer. He handed over his government and the treasury to Frumentius who appeared possessed of greater intelligence

terrae, quae ad praedicandum verbum Dei sorte per Apostolos celebrata est, cum aliae alfis provinciae obvenissent, Thomae Parthia, et Matthaeo Ethiopia, eique adhaerens citerior India Bartholomaeo dicitur sorte decreta. Inter quam Parthiamque media, sed longo interior tractu, India ulterior jacet, multis variisque linguis et gentibus habitata, quam velut longe remotum, nullus Apostolicae praedicationis vomer impresserat, quae tamen temporibus Constantini tali quadam ex causa semina fidei prima suscepit" (lib. 1. c. 9).

and prudence. On this account they were both held in esteem and regard by the king. Before his death, leaving behind him as heirs to the kingdom a widow and a young son, he gave the young men freedom to act as they liked. But the queen begged them as if there were none more trustworthy in the whole kingdom, to remain and help her in the government of the country until her son came of age. She was specially desirous of Frumentius whose prudence was sufficient to govern the kingdom, as the other simply showed fidelity and a sober mind. Frumentius while holding the government of the country, God moving his mind and heart, was solicitous to seek out if there were Christians among the Roman traders, and to give them full power and to encourage them to erect places of meeting in different parts, and according to the Roman rite to assemble for prayer. This he himself did to a great extent, and encouraged others to follow his example, favouring them, inviting them by benefices, preferring whatever was opportune, giving them places for buildings, and all else that was necessary. Moreover he displayed the greatest interest to sow there the seeds of the Christian faith. But when the young prince, whose affairs he was managing, had attained manhood Frumentius completed and handed over his charge to him. In spite of the entreaties of the queen and the prince to remain with them they returned to our shores. Edesius hastened to Tyre to see his parents and relatives ; but Frumentius, deeming it unworthy to conceal the work of the Lord, went to Alexandria. He there explained to

the bishop all that he had done, and urged him to select a worthy person and to commission him to gather the already numerous Christians and to erect churches in that barbarian land. Then Athanasius who had recently been ordained to the priesthood, duly and favourably considering the words and deeds of Frumentius, said in the assembly of the priests: 'whom else shall we find endowed with the spirit of God, as thou, and competent to do what is required?'. Having ordained him he bade him, with God's blessing to return whence he had come. On Frumentius' return to India as bishop, it is said that such were the favours of grace God bestowed on him that the wonders of the apostolic age were seen anew and an innumerable number of barbarians were converted to the faith. It is since then that in the parts of India people were made Christian, churches erected, and the priesthood started. We know these things as they are done not from popular rumour but from the lips of Edesius himself, afterwards a priest of Tyre, who had formerly been the companion of Frumentius''¹.

Since Rufinus was in Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Ethiopia, and in Edessa of Mesopotamia² there is all probability that he knew the geographical situation of both Ethiopia and the Parthian Empire. With this supposition we are in a position to explain his texts. About the field of labour of St. Bartholomew he writes: "And the

¹ Rufinus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 9, ML. 21. 478-480.

² Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 2. 8; ML. 21. 517.

Citerior India adherent to it is said to have fallen to Bartholomew". Now according to the Latin grammar 'to it' (*eique*) refers to the nearest substantive, which, here, is Ethiopia. Hence if we take the word 'adherent' in its strict sense the Citerior India adherent to Ethiopia will lie east of and touching on Ethiopia. This will be the Somali coast. With the Somali coast, then, as the Citerior India we will have Arabia as the Ulterior India which lay according to Rufinus between the Citerior India and Parthia. This explanation appears very plausible. But since none of the earlier writers (pre-seventh century writers) understood the Somali coast as the field of Bartholomew's apostolate, since Arabia had no philosophical schools to attract a philosopher like Metrodorus and since Metrodorus did not go to Arabia but to the India of the Brahmins, this explanation has to be abandoned.

There is another interpretation proposed and held by many European authors like the Bollandist Fr. Carpentier, S. J.¹, Fr. H. Thurston, S. J.², Bishop Medlycott³ and others of this school. These well known writers taking the word 'adherent' in its broad meaning of 'near', and on the supposition that Bartholomew preached in Arabia Felix argue that the Citerior India is Arabia. This interpretation at first sight appears very plausible; but it offers as great a difficulty as the first. For, if we

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, 60, 257, St. Frumentius.

² Thurston and Attwater. *BLS*. August 24. pp. 289sq.

³ Medlycott. *India and the Ap. Thomas*, p.p. 171sq.

take Arabia as the Citerior India, then there is no room for placing the Ulterior India in between Arabia and Parthia, for between these two lands there is only the Persian Gulf. Secondly, the land evangelised by St. Bartholomew, according to the unanimous testimony of the early writers, is neither Arabia nor Arabia Felix. Hence this interpretation too is inadmissible.

Which, then, is the Citerior India evangelised by St. Bartholomew? While speaking of St. Pantaenus, Eusebius of Caesarea says that "Pantaenus was constituted a herald of the gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and advanced even as far as *India*....Pantaenus....is said to have come to the (land of the) Indians; to have found *there* that the gospel according to Matthew had anticipated his own arrival among some who knew Christ and to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached and had left them the book of Matthew in Hebrew script, which is also preserved until this time"¹. This fact is more explicitly stated by St. Jerome: "Pantaenus....on account of the renown of his excellent learning was *sent to India*, by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach Christ to *the Brahmins* and to the philosophers of that nation"². And again in another place he says: "Pantaenus.....was a man of such learning both in Sacred Scriptures and in secular knowledge that he was *sent to India* by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria *at the request of*

¹ Eusebius. Hist. Eccl. 5. 10; MG. 20. 453-6.

² Jerome. Epist. 70 Ad Magnum Oratorem, 4; ML, 22. 667.

that nation's legates. There he found that the coming of Christ, our Lord, according to the gospel of Matthew, was preached by Bartholomew, one of the twelve Apostles¹. Now Eusebius and St. Jerome were men who knew the geographical position of India, and where the Brahmins lived². Their testimony is clear and explicit. Hence it is clear that St. Bartholomew preached in actual India where Pantaenus came at a later time to preach to the Brahmins. Citerior India of Rufinus, therefore, has to be looked for in India itself, not in any other country.

All authors agree in this that the word 'adherent' has to be taken in its broad meaning. We have seen above that the meaning 'near' is not pertinent here. Another possible meaning in this context is : 'extending towards'. As the Ulterior India lay between Parthia and Citerior India, this Citerior India has to be looked for in a portion of India which extends towards Ethiopia and adjacent to Ulterior India. If now we look at the map of India made by Ptolemy in 150 A. D. we shall find that the Bombay-Gujarat region extended far in the direction of Ethiopia. Consequently if we say that this Bombay-Gujarat region formed the Citerior India of Rufinus, there is no incongruity. If we take this part as the Citerior India then the Ulterior India will lie between this and Parthia, which will be the region of India, east of the Indus. This is confirmed by Cedrenus, a Byzantine historian

1. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 36, 4. ML 23. 651.

2. Cfr, Part, II, section, C. b & d.

ian of the eleventh century, who says that Metrodorus came to India, to the Brahmins ¹. And Rufinus writes that Metrodorus had gone to Ulterior India. All these, then, are in full agreement with the description of Rufinus. Hence the region east of the Indus up to the very interior will be the Ulterior India, and the Bombay-Gujarat coast the Citerior India.

Having thus understood the geography of Rufinus we shall proceed to the historical part of his narrative. Frumentius came to Ulterior India with Meropius who followed the example of Metrodorus. Meropius, being a philosopher, in all probability came to Taxila, or to one of the famous philosophical schools in the upper Punjab. After his travels in India he returned home by ship. On the way the ship put into port to take in water and other necessities. Here Meropius and his companions were captured and killed; but Frumentius and Edessius were taken to the king. When the king died Frumentius became the regent of the young prince. After his regency he went over to Alexandria and reported his apostolic labours to St. Athanasius who immediately made Frumentius bishop of the place whence he had come (*unde venerat*).

But the question arises as to which port he entered at the time of his capture. Of which country did he become bishop? From a letter of St. Athanasius to the Emperor Constantius and from a

¹ Cedrenus. *Compendium of History*; MG. 121, 561.

decree of Constantius we know that Frumentius was bishop of Auxum of Ethiopia, for, Athanasius says: ".... rumour has it that letters have been given to the chief of Auxum to see that *Frumentius, the bishop of Auxum* is brought there...." ¹; and the decree of Constantius to the same chief says: "Wherefore, sent, *Frumentius, the bishop* as soon as possible to Egypt...." ²

Hence from these considerations it is clear that St. Frumentius was first in N. W. India, that on his return voyage he was captured by Ethiopians at the port probably of Adulis, and that later on he became the bishop of Auxum, the capital of Ethiopia.

But Rufinus, in his narrative, has stated that the Ulterior India received the first seeds of faith, at the time of Constantine, through the labours of St. Frumentius. In the light of St. Athanasius' testimony and intelligent understanding of the narrative of Rufinus makes it clear that Frumentius was bishop not of Ulterior India, but of Ethiopia. How can we account for his discrepancy? The plausible explanations seem to be, not that Rufinus was wrong in his geographical knowledge of India but that he had either failed to grasp or had forgotten the real location of the port and the country where the second part of the episode took place.

Hence in the narrative of Rufinus the error is only historical, not geographical. He knows the geographical location of India; there is no confusion

¹ Athanasius Apology to Constantius, 29; MG. 25 632.

² Athanasius. *Ibid.* 31; MG. 25. 636.

in this. The confusion is in his placing the life of Frumentius *wholly* in India.

This story was translated into Greek by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and others. These writers understood the story to have taken place in India. The mistake, here, is not of Socrates, Sozomen or Theodoret, but only of Rufinus; and that only historical, not geographical.

INDIA AND THE BOLLANDIST, FR. CARPENTIER, S. J.

Unlike the Latins and the Alexandrians some of the Byzantine Greeks seem to have conceived a slightly different idea of the Indians. They called Indians all races, black or brown, in opposition to the white. As the aboriginal Americans are erroneously called Indians, so by a similar error the Ethiopians and later on the Homerites began to be styled Indians by these *Byzantine writers*. The first record we have is in the writings of Pseudo-Kallisthenes, a not so well-informed writer of the fourth century of our era. He mentions that an Indian king resided in Auxum, the capital of Ethiopia, and in Ceylon (Taprobane), thus making the Ethiopians and Ceylonese an Indian race. For, he says that a certain Theban scholar "set sail with an elderly man and came first to Adulis and next to Auxum . . . in which a petty *Indian* king resided . . . In this island (Taprobane) too resides the great king of the Indians . . ." After Pseudo-Kallisthenes we have Procopius, in the sixth century, who applies

1 Pseudo-Kall. 3. 7; McE. p. 179.

the term Indians to the Ethiopians. He says : ' The river Nile (coming) from the *Indians* flows in Egypt....'¹ As time went on, writers began to apply this term 'Indians' even to the Homerites or the people of Arabia Felix. Thus in the seventh century Theophylactus called the Homerites, Indians.² About the eighth century we have an anonymous author of the eighteenth book in the 'General History' or 'Chronography' of John Malala, who applies the term Indians to both Ethiopians and Homerites.³ A similar statement is made in the ninth century by Theophanes, and Photius in the summary of Philostorgius 'Ecclesiastical History'.

Thus, it is clear that the Byzantine Greeks called the Ethiopians and the Homerites, Indians. But, this does in no way mean that they considered Ethiopia and Arabia Felix as India, and that they knew nothing about it. Direct contact with India had been cut off by the rise of Islam, with the

1 See the text of Carpentier given below

2 *Ibid.*

3 There is a great difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact century in which John Malala lived. Some put him in the sixth century, others in the ninth. From our personal study on this matter we are inclined to put him in the eighth century.

As to the authorship of the different books in his 'Chronography' too there is difference of opinion. Some say that the first and the eighteenth books are not by the same author. This statement is proved from the geography of India Arabia and Ethiopia as given in these books. In the first seventeen books India is a land next to Persia, where Poros was king at the time of Alexander's invasion. In the eighteen the book India seems to be Ethiopia and Arabia. Hence this confusion seems to argue that the author of the eighteenth book is not the author of the rest.

consequence that these Byzantines wrote nothing of their contemporary India ; but they did not forget the India which they knew of from their predecessors who lived before the seventh century. Their chronographers continued to speak of India in connection with the conquest of Alexander, the Great, the Brahmins and the Ganges. And the striking fact is that they, with the exception of the above-mentioned anonymous author, do not mention the word India or its equivalents when speaking of the Ethiopians and the Homerites. For the Ethiopians they use such terms as : Ethiopians, Auxumite Indians and Indians from Ethiopia ; and for the Homerites : Homerites, Homerite Indians, Sabaeans and Indians from Saba or Arabia Felix. The word *India* or its equivalent, on the other hand, is expressly used while speaking of Alexander's conquest, the Brahmins or the Ganges. Thus, Cedrenus, in the eleventh century, says : " Metrodorus....went to India (*en Indini*), to the Brahmins" ¹ And again in another place he adds that Alexander "entered India (*ten Indon choran*) where. Poros was reigning" ². Leo the deacon, in the tenth century says : " Some say that the Phison, which used to be called the Ganges, divides the country of India (*ten Indiken gen*)...." ³. There are others too who made clear distinctions between the various countries of the East. Thus, for example, the author of the first book of John Malala's 'Chronography,'

1 Cedrenus. Compendium of Hist. ; MG. 121. 561

2 *Ibid.* MG. 121. 301.

3. Leo. Book of Hist. 8. 1 ; MG. 117. 844.

concerning the countries allotted to Sem, says : " These are¹ the countries which fell by lot to Sem : Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, Babylonia, Cordena, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Old Arabia, Elymais, *India* (*Indike*), *Arabia Felix*, Coelesyria, Commagena, the whole of Phoenicia and the plains of Euphrates. And to Cham fell Egypt, *Ethiopia*, which overlooks the Indians, the other *Ethiopia* whence flows the Ethiopian river, Erythraea which faces the East, Thebaid, *Libya* extending to Cyrenia, etc."² The author of the life of Barlaam and Josaphat, in the eighth century, says thus of India : " India (*He ton Indon—chora*), an immense and thickly populated country, is situated at a great distance from Egypt. It is surrounded by seas and navigable oceans on the side of Egypt. On the side of the land it touches the confines of Persia which in olden times was blackened by the darkness of idolatry, was extremely barbarous and given to immorality" ³ And Photius, in the ninth century writes : " . . . This country (*Ethiopia*) could not—no other country could—be compared to India (*Pros Indous*) in size ; not even any stretch of country (*hoposai hepeiroi*) known to man. Were we to join the whole of Egypt to Ethiopia,—we think the river does it—even then both combined would not be equal to India (*Pros ten Indon*). In both the countries there are similar rivers, the Indus and the Nile . . . " ³

¹ J. M. Chronography, 1 ; MG. 97. 80.

² Life of B & J. 1 ; MG. 96. 861.

³ Photius. Bibliotheca 241 : MG. 103. 1232.

Hence from the writings of all these authors, except that of the anonymous author mentioned above, it is clear that the Greeks knew the geographical difference between Ethiopia, Arabia Felix and India. However, some of them considered the people living in these countries as belonging to the same race, *i. e.*, Indian. The lack of knowledge, in these writers, then, is ethnological, not geographical. Hence if we keep the above distinction in mind, we have to force the text to say that these writers did call Ethiopia and Arabia by the name of India.

With this short introduction let us examine the statement of Fr. E. Carpentier (1822—1868), the Bollandist. He writes thus on the page 672 of the 58th Vol. of the 'Acta Sanctorum' (Paris, 1869): "As by the name of Ethiopia so also by the name of India both the regions Arabia Felix and Abyssinia or the whole of the African Ethiopia were designated. The fact is evident in the case of Arabia. Philostorgius, in Book II Chap. 6, according to the testimony of Photius, called the Homerites, Indians: "These Indians, he says, were once called Sabaeans, from the city of Saba, which is the capital of the whole nation; now, however, are called Homerites". And in Book III Chap. 4 he writes that the region which is inhabited by the Homerites is called by the Greeks great and happy Arabia. Likewise Theophanes, while speaking of the 6064th year of the world, called the Homerites, Indians: 'On account of the Homerite Indians sending an embassy to the Romans'. And Theophylactus Simocatta, who was writing at

Constantinople in the beginning of the seventh century adds this when referring to certain things about the Homerites : "The Indian nation also to the Romans...." ¹. In agreement with these authors are Eusebius, Cedrenus, and the old geographers Arrian, Nearchus, Aethicus and Julius Honorius. That the Ethiopians also were not unfrequently called Indians is evident from historians and other writers : ' The river Nile (coming) from the Indians flows in Egypt dividing the country into two there, up to the sea etc. ' Concerning Georgics II line 116 of Virgil, Servius very clearly says : ' We take as India all the regions of Ethiopia '. The same is taught by John, bishop of Asia in No. 113 below. It can be read in the commentary on Ethiopian History of Job Ludolfus who treats the subject at great length" ².

Here we shall divide Fr. Carpentier's authorities into two groups : (I) The authors who flourished before 641 A. D, namely (1) Theophylactus Simocatta, (2) Eusebius, (3) Arrian, (4) Nearchus, (5) Ptolemy and (6) John, bishop of Asia, (II)

¹ The last Greek word in the text is without the full context ; hence it is very difficult to render into English. Since the idea of the author can be understood from the passage already translated the rest is left out. See the original text of Carpentier here below.

² The text of Carpentier. "Sicut Aethiopiae, ita et Indiae nomine utraque regio, Arabia Felix et Abyssinia vel tota Aethiopia Africana, designata fuit. De Arabia res est manifesta. Philostorgius lib. ii, cap. 6, teste Photio, Homeritas Indos vocavit : "Hos autem Indos olim quidem Sabaeos ait esse dictos. ab urbe Saba, quae caput est totius gentis; Homeritae, Arabiam magnam et felicem a Graecis appellari scribit. Similiter Theophanes, ad annum aerae mundanae 6064, Homeritas Indos vocavit : *dis to Presbeusait tous*

The authors who lived after the seventh century, namely. (1) Photius' Philostorgius, (2) Theophanes, (3) Cedrenus, (4) Servius, the commentator of Virgil, (5) Aethicus and (6) Julius Honorius. The writers of the second group are beyond the scope of our present study. Only the first group claim our attention now.

(1) The testimony produced from Theophylactus is that he has called the Homerites, Indians. This can be conceded. But he does not call the country of Arabia, India.

(2) As for Eusebius no text is produced. As far as the present writer has examined the complete works of Eusebius in the Migne edition of the Patrology he has not found any passage which may be cited to show that Eusebius calls Arabia or Ethiopia, India. For further elucidation confer the section on Eusebius given above.

(3) Concerning Arrian and (4) Nearchus the answer is that neither Fr. Carpentier has produced

Homeritas Indous Prox Rhomaious, Et Theophylactus Simocatta, qui ineunte saeculo vii Cpoli scribebat, quaedam ad gentem Homeritarum spectantia referens, haec addit: *Indtkon de to genos, kai Rhomaiais* (seu Graecis Cpolitans) *upekoon* (Lib. iii. p. 132. Bonnae. 1834). His consonant Eusebius, Cedrenus et veteres geographi Arrhianus, Nearchus, Aethicus et Julius Honorius (Ap. Wright. Early Christianity in Arabia, p. 29. London 1855). Verum et Aethiopus quoque non infrequenter dictos fuisse Indos, patet iterum ex historicis aliisque scriptoribus: *Nilos men he Potamos, ex Indou et Aigyptou pheromenos, dika temnei ten ekinei gen, achri es tha'asasu k. t. l.* Procopius. de aedificiis, lib. vi. p. 331. Bonnae 1828). Clarissime Servius ad Virgili Georgi. ii. 116: 'Indiam omnem plagam Aethiopiae accipimus'. Idem docet Joannes Asiae episcopus infra n. 113; et legi potest hac de re latius disserens Jobus Ludolfus in commentariis ad historiam Aethiopicam". Acta Sanctorum tom. 58. p. 672.

any text that favours his statement nor has the present writer found any to the same effect. For the rest the reader is referred to the article itself.

(5) Procopius says that "the Nile coming from the Indians flows in Egypt....". In this text Procopius does not call Ethiopia, India but only the people, Indians. India and Indians are not the same.

(6) John, bishop of Asia was a West Syrian who lived in the sixth century A. D. He was not a Greek ; hence he does not come under our present consideration.

Having examined all the Greek writers, before the year 641 A. D. quoted by Fr. Carpentier we come to the conclusion that none of them apply the name India to Arabia or to Ethiopia.

INDIA AND DR. MINGANA.

The late Dr. A. Mingana, D. D. of John Rylands Library, Manchester, published in 1926 an article entitled 'The Early Spread of Christianity in India' in the July number of 'The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library'. On page 11 of the Reprint of the same article he says : "A difficult point with which a student of Indian history should be acquainted in his researches in the writings of early authors is the elasticity of the term 'India', and the confusion made through it between the real India of our day and the countries situated on both shores of the Red Sea, *viz.*, those of the Ethiopians and the Himyarites. Many mistakes made by

some ecclesiastical writers of the West can be traced to this confusion." Again on page 12 he says : " The number of the ecclesiastical writers who applied the term India (*sic*) to Ethiopians and Himyarites is very considerable. A few Greek and Latin authors will be incidentally referred to in the ensuing pages". These statements the author tries to prove in the following pages of his book by quoting Greek, Latin and Syrian authors. But as the Syrian authors are outside the scope of our present study they are left out to be treated in a more complete study later on.

As for the Greeks and Latins Dr. Mingana says : " The first Western writer who makes mention of a monastery of St. Thomas seems to be Gregory of Tours, who died in 597. His text is as follows : ' Thomas apostolus secundum historiam passionis ejus in India passus declaratur. Cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant translatum est, ibique sepultum. Ergo in loco regionis Indiae, quo prius quievit, *monasterium** habetur et templum mirae magnitudinis diligenterque exornatum atque compositum. . . Hic Theodorus qui ad ipsum locum accessit, nobis exposuit "'².

"As Gregory does not specify the precise identity of the India of which he is speaking, it is not impossible to believe that the India intended by him was South Arabia ; the very same old confusion is

1. *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, by Arndt and Krusch, II., 507-508.

2. Mingana, *ESC*, p. 21.

indeed clearly made by the author of King Alfred's embassy of A. D. 883.¹ The year 883. In this year the army went up the Scheldt to Cande, and they sat down one year. And Marinus, the Pope, then sent *lignum Domini*² (a piece of the Holy Cross?) to King Alfred. And in the same year, Sighelm and Aethalstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew.³ The mention of Bartholomew renders almost certain the opinion that King Alfred's India was not India at all, but South Arabia or Abyssinia.⁴

"To this century belong two passages in the letters of St. Jerome, which we feel tempted to quote here. The first passage deals with Pantaenus, of whom we have already spoken, and is: "Pantaenus Stoicae sectae philosophus, ob praecipuae eruditionis gloriam, a Demetrio Alexandriae episcopo missus est in Indiam, ut Christum apud Brachmanas et illius gentis philosophos praedicaret."⁵ In spite of the mention of the Brahmins—of whom St. Jerome had apparently heard—the India of whom he is speaking is most probably South Arabia, as stated above; that is to say, that India of which Socrates writes 'India quae Aethiopiae confinis est', i. e. the India which is bordering on Ethiopia.⁶

¹ B. Thorpe's *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ii., 66.

² Mingana. ESC. p. 21.

³ Pat. Lat., 22., 667.

⁴ Eccl. Hist. in Pat. Gr., 67., 126.

⁵ Mingana. ESC. p. 28.

" In the second passage Jerome informs us that he was visited in Palestine every day by monks from India, Persia, and Ethiopia, and is as follows : ' De India, Perside, Aethiopia, monachorum quotidie turbas suscipimus ' ¹. There is no great probability that Jerome entertained daily crowds of monks from India. As in the first passage quoted above, the India of which he is speaking seems also to be Southern Arabia, that India which Socrates informs us is in close proximity to Ethiopia"².

a. THE GREEKS.

The only Greek, whose authority is quoted by Mingana in support of his statement, is Socrates, a Byzantine writer of the fifth century. Mingana says : " In spite of the mention of the Brahmins—of whom St. Jerome had apparently heard—the India of whom he is speaking is most probably South Arabia, as stated above ; that is to say, that India of which Socrates writes ' India quae Aethiopiae confinis est,' *i. e.*, the India which is bordering on Ethiopia". Brushing aside Brahmins who were found only in India, Mingana makes a possible theory that the India of St. Jerome was S. Arabia. This he confirms by the text of Socrates which we shall examine in detail.

Socrates in his 'Ecclesiastical History' has related the life of St. Frumentius as he got it from Rufinus. Socrates says : " So again we have to recall to memory how in the time of the king (Constantine ?) Christianity was widely propagated. The

¹ Pat. Lat., 22., 870.

² Mingana. ESC. P. 2⁰⁰

Indians of the Interior and the Iberians began to become Christians. Why I used, above, (the expression) 'of the Interior' I shall tell you briefly. When the apostles assigned by lot the (different) nations to whom they were going to (preach) Thomas obtained the apostolate of the Parthians, Matthew Ethiopia, *Bartholomew obtained by lot India which is adherent to it*.... Thus narrates Ruffinus that he got this (story) from Edesius who afterwards was made a priest of Tyre"¹. From this it is clear that the text is taken from Rufinus who says: "*And the Citerior India adherent to it fell to Bartholomew.*"

We have seen above in section III A., that this India adherent to it (Ethiopia) is not Arabia Felix or S. Arabia, but the Bombay-Gujarat coast of India. Hence the text adduced does not appear to support Dr. Mingana as he wanted it to do. St. Jerome's statement we shall examine among the Latins.

b. THE LATINS.

We have already seen above that none of the Latins up to the seventh century has made any confusion regarding the geography of India. As for the Latins who lived after the seventh century the same may be said. Due to the Mohammedan blockade of Alexandria and the East there was not much direct communication between India and the West. There is no record in history by any Post-seventh century Latin writers concerning India with exception of an Anglo-Saxon Chronicler who

1. Socrates, Hist. Eccl. i. 19; MG. 67. 125-29.

corded the embassy of Alfred the Great of England to India. This was in the ninth century. But this does not mean that the Latins forgot India. Like the Byzantines the Latins kept on repeating their knowledge of India, which they got from their predecessors. The venerable Bede in the eighth century ¹, Abbot Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century ² and Honorius of Augustodunum (Autun) in the twelfth century ³ speak clearly and correctly of India and the other countries of the East. The Abbot Smaragdus, too, in the ninth century ⁴ by enumerating the provinces and countries west of the river Indus gives us to understand that the West had not forgotten the East.

Now, Dr. Mingana makes a supposition: 'In spite of the mention of the Brahmins—of whom St. Jerome had apparently heard—*the India* of whom he is speaking *is most probably South Arabia....*'. The reader is directed to Part II. section C. d. of this study where it is shown that the India of St. Jerome is not Arabia but the actual Hindustan.

Mingana commenting on the text of Jerome says: "*There is no great probability* that Jerome entertained daily crowds of monks from India." First of all it is clear from the text that Jerome had no intention, as Dr. Mingana makes it out to be, to affirm that he received monks *daily* from India (alone).

¹ Bede. *Natura Rerum*. 47. De circulis terrae: ML. 90. 265-66.

² R. Maurus. De Universo. 12. 4, De regionibus; ML. 111. 3358q.

³ Honorius. *Didasca. et Hist.* 1. 11.; ML. 172. 123-4.

⁴ Smaragdus. *Collectio in Epist. et Evangelia*; ML. 102. 254-6.

Secondly, it cannot be seen why St. Jerome could not have been visited by monks from India since there were Christians in India from the time of the Apostles.¹

His next supposition is: "As Gregory does not specify the precise identity of the India of which he is speaking, *it is not impossible to believe* that the India intended by him was S. Arabia;..". But since neither Mingana himself nor any one else has ever shown that Gregory's India was Arabia, and that there existed in Arabia *a monastery of St. Thomas* at the time when Gregory was writing, the supposition cannot be conclusive. And why? Because no early Latin writer we know of has called Arabia by the name of India. Hence it is highly probable that Gregory's India was the real India, and that the monastery was in India itself.²

He says again that "The mention of Bartholomew renders almost certain the opinion that *King Alfred's India was not India at all, but South Arabia or Abyssinia.*" Here again Dr. Mingana's supposition that India is South Arabia or Abyssinia has to yield place to the fact shown in part III section A, above, that the India of Bartholomew is not South Arabia but the actual Hindustan.

From these considerations, therefore, it appears that none of the Latin authors quoted by Mingana lends real support to his suppositions.

1. Cfr. part III. section A., above.

2. Later on we will show in another study that this monastery mentioned by Gregory was identical with the monastery on the Coromandel (Madras) coast of India alluded to or spoken of by Solomon of Bosra (1222 A. D.), Marco Polo (1293), Amr' (1340), Marignoli (1349) and others.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

Now we come to the general conclusion. India was almost a *terra ignota* to the Greeks before the time of Alexander the Great. It was Alexander and his companions that gave to the Graeco-Roman world ideas concerning India approximating the truth. This initial knowledge was perfected with the writings of Megasthenes, Dionysios, Deimachos, Eratosthenes and others who had better facilities of knowing India from close quarters. After the Greeks, the new commercial relations with the Romans opened new vistas, and fresh knowledge was added to that of the previous writers. Men like Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, the Author of the Periplus, Q. Curtius, Ptolemy, Arrian, Justin, Plutarch, Aelian, Pomponius, Dion Chrysostom, Solinus and others wrote their books on India, her people, her animals, her plants, her minerals and in short, on everything that interested the Greeks and the Romans. Besides the looks, oral information from the traders who frequented Indian markets furnished the men in Europe with clear ideas regarding India.

Besides the classical writers, ecclesiastical writers, too, of the first seven centuries after Christ, continued to speak of India and her people. Among the Greeks there are twenty-three such writers, in whose works we have come upon the terms *He India* 23 times, *He Indike* 21 times, *He Indon chora* 7 times *He Indika chora* twice, and *He Indon ge* and *He Indon oikoumene* each. In none of these places do they give any *clear* indication to show that their India is Arabia, Ethiopia or Persia; whereas the

context in many cases clearly gives details showing that their India is the actual India or Hindustan. The same is the case with the nineteen Latins who, as far as we are aware, have used the term *India* alone 98 times in their writings. Hence India for these classical and Christian writers is the India of the present day.

India was known to the people in Europe, nay it was a familiar country to them. Persia, India, Syria, Arabia, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, Egypt and the rest of the land in the East were known to them. For, the Christian Fathers mentioned above, spoke of these countries in their sermons, panegyrics and the homilies and used these terms in their writings. Among the 42 Christian writers of the period under consideration, not a single one makes a mistake regarding India; they do not call Ethiopia, India, nor do they place any incidents that occurred in India in Arabia. India for them is our Hindstan.

Moreover, we have examined two* of the prominent modern European writers who hold an opposite view regarding this question, and we have failed to find documents to support their statements; nor do they give any *real* proof to substantiate their assertions. Hence, in the light of what has been said above it has to be concluded that the India of the early Greeks and Romans, from the time of Alexander the Great to the fall of Alexandria, in 641 A.D., is the one and only India which is bounded

1. There are many others too who repeat the very same ideas. A few names are given in the Bibliography. They need no separate refutation.

on the West by the river Indus, on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the mouth of the Ganges, and on the remaining sides by the Indian Ocean.



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(3) Schoff H. Wilfred. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Longmans. 1912. Contains the translation of the work of a merchant of the 1st century A. D. *Schoff.*

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(4) Aenaeas Gazeus (458—500) *MG.* 85. Indian—3 ; Ganges—1.

(5) Agathias Scholastic (6th cent.) *MG.* 88. Indian—1 ; Ganges—1.

(6) Anastasius Sinaite (6-7 cent.) *MG.* 89. India—2 ; Indian—4 ; Ganges—1 ; Indus—1.

(7) Anonymous author of the *Chronicon Pascale* (7th cent.) *MG.* 92. India—2 ; Indus—1 ; Arabia Felix—1.

(8) Athanasius of Alexandria, St. (295—373) *MG.* 25—6. Indian—2.

(9) Basil the Great, St. (330—379) *MG.* 29—32. Indian—2 ; Indus—1 ; Persia and Ethiopia—several.

(10) Caesarius, brother of Greg. Naz. (4th cent.)

MG. 38. India—1 ; Indian—5 ; Brachmanes—2 ; Ganges—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(11) Clement of Alexandria (150—216) MG. 8-9. India—2 ; Indian—9 ; Brach.—4 ; Gymnosophists—2 ; Sarmanes—5 ; Arabia Felicians—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(12) Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century) MG. 88. India—15 ; Indian—25 ; Indus—2 ; Ganges—1 ; Brach—1 ; Arabia Felix—1 ; Homerite—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(13) Cyril of Alexandria, St. (375—444) MG. 68-77. India—1 ; Indian—13 ; Gymno.—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(14) Cyril of Jerusalem, St. (316-386) MG. 33. India—1 ; Indian—2 ; Buddha—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(15) Didymus of Alexandria (313—398) MG. 39. India—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(16) Epiphanius, St. (315—413) MG. 41-3. India—6 ; Indian—4 ; Buddha—2 ; Ganges—2 ; Indus—2.

(17) Eusebius of Caesarea (265-340) MG. 19—24. India—9 ; Indian—38 ; Brach.—15 ; Ganges—1 ; Arabia Felix—2 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(18) Gregory of Nazianzen, St. (329—390) MG. 35-8. India—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(19) John Chrysostom, St. (344—407) MG. 47—64. India—2 ; Indian—23 ; Ethiopia, Arabia (Felix) and Persia—several.

(20) Justin Martyr, St. (110—163) MG. 6. India—1 ; Ethiopia and Saba—several.

(21) Origen (186—232) MG. 11-17. India—2 ;

Indian—20 ; Brach—8 ; Sarmanes—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(22) Paul Silentianus (c. 600.) MG. 862, India—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(23) Procopius Gazæus (465—528) MG. 87 1-3. India—1 ; Indian—2 ; Persia, Arabia and Ethiopia—several.

(24) Socrates (5th Cent.) MG. 67. India—1 ; Indian—8 ; Arabia, Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(25) Sosomen (5th cent.) MG. 67. India—2 ; Indian—9 ; Persia and Ethiopia—several.

(26) Theodoret (393—453) MG. 80-3. India—3 ; Indian—15 ; Brach.—3 ; Homerite—1 ; Saba and Ethiopia—several.

Latin Writers :—

Patrologia Latina, Migne edition, tomes 1—217. ML.

Most of the well known and a few of the minor writers who flourished before 641 A. D. have written on India.

(27) Ambrose of Milan, St. (333—397) ML. 14—17. India—9 ; Indian—15 ; Brach.—20 ; Ganges—6 ; Indus—1 ; Gymno—2 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(28) Arnobius (c. 260—327) ML. 5. India—1 ; Indian—2 ; Arabia, Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(29) Augustine of Hippo, St. (354—430) ML. 32—47. India—4 ; Indian—2 ; Ganges—1 ; Gymno.—2 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(30) Avitus of Vienna, St. (5th—6th cent.) ML. 59, India—1 ; Ganges—1.

(31) Boetius (480—526) ML. 63-64. Indian—2

(32) Claudius Marius Victor (5th cent.) ML.

61. Indian—1 ; Ganges—1.

(33) Dracontius Aemilius (5th cent.) ML 60.
India—2.

(34) Flavius Lucius Dexter (5th cent.) ML.
31. India—1.

(35) Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia, St. (+410)
ML. 20. Indian—1.

(36) Gregory the Great, Pope, St. (450—604)
ML. 75—79. India—4 ; Ethiopia—several.

(37) Gregory of Tours, St. (538—593) ML. 71
India—3.

(38) Isidore of Seville, St. (?-638) ML. 81-4.
India—42 ; Indian—38 ; Ganges—5 ; Indus—7.

(39) Jerome, St. (342-420) ML. 22—30. India
—19 ; Indian—8 ; Brach.—3 ; Ganges—4.

(40) Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator
(477—570) ML. 69-70. Indian—1.

(41) Orosius Paul (+417) ML. 31. India—4
Indian—3 ; Indus—2 ; Ganges—2 ; Arabia Felix
—1 ; Ethiopia and Persia—several.

(42) Paulinus of Nola, St. (353—431) ML.
61. India—1.

(43) Philastrius, St. (?-397) ML. 12, India—1.

(44) Rufinus of Aquileia (345—410) ML. 21.
India—4 ; Ethiopia—several.

(45) Sidonius Appollinarius (431—489) ML.
58. Indian—9 ; Brach.—1 ; Ganges—3 ; Indus—2 ;
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THE INDIAN COW-HERD GOD

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

It is proposed in the present paper to re-examine the position of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa the Indian Cow-herd God in the light of certain facts which have not received adequate consideration.

The identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was fully recognised about the third or fourth century A. C. when the *Harivaṃśam* was written according to Bhandarkar¹. The identification was accomplished by the simple process of tagging on the legends of boy Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement to the epic story of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. But as Bhandarkar has pointed out "the story of the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva having been brought up in a cow-settlement is incongruous with his later career as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. Nor does any part of it require the pre-supposition of such a boyhood as has been ascribed to him."² It is to be noted that Bhandarkar rejects the solitary reference in the epic (*Sabhā Parvvan* Ch. 41) to the early exploits of Kṛṣṇa as an interpolation.³ His views may be summed up as follows : the cult of the cow-herd god was brought into India

1 Bhandarkar R. G. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, 1913. P. 36.

2 Bhandarkar *Op. cit.* P. 35.

3 *Ibid* P. 36.

by the Ābhīras in the first century A. C. from outside; and the cult and some of the early legends were borrowed from Christianity.¹ It is not necessary to refer in detail to the criticism to which these views have been subjected. The Ābhīra association is generally accepted but it has been pointed out that the Ābhīras were in Western India before the Christian era.² It has been pointed out on the evidence of Patañjali, the Ghaṭa Jātaka etc. that some of the legends are of pre-Christian origin.³ *The theory of importation and Christian borrowing has, therefore, been rejected and the view is generally accepted that the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is of Indian origin.

Bhandarkar, it is to be observed, finds a solution of the tangle created by the "incongruity" in the traditional history by assuming that the cow-herd god was an independent deity of Christian origin who was identified with the epic hero. Those who advocate the theory of Indian origin of the god have not tried to solve this tangle. We may refer

1 *Ibid.* Pp. 36, 37.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1918. P. 33. According to the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea the Ābhīras were settled in Western India in the 1st century A. C.

3 *Patañjali on Pāṇini*, 111-1-26—quoted by R. Chandu-Indo Aryan *Revue*, Part I P. 92. *The Ghaṭa Jātaka* Coswell's Edition Vol. IV. P. 50.

*Note 1.—A part of a sculpture (Pl. LXVII, fig. c. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, p. 183-184) discovered in the Gāyatrī mound near the city of Mathurā by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna representing the carriage of the baby across the Jumnā is assigned by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni to the early Kushan period (1st or 2nd century A. C.).

to the view of Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri, according to whom the pastoral associations of Kṛṣṇa are derived from the Vedic Viṣṇu. He has pointed out that in the Ṛgveda (1-22-18) Viṣṇu is called "Gopa" which means "herdsman" according to Hopkins. Again in the Ṛgveda (1-154-6), there is a reference to many-horned, swiftly moving cows in the abode of Viṣṇu. In another place (Rv. 1-55-6) Viṣṇu is described as a youth who is no longer child¹. On this evidence Dr. Roy Chaudhuri concludes. 'But though the idea of a pastoral Kṛṣṇa may have been borrowed from the Vedas, its development was clearly due to some such tribe as the Ābhīras'². Now the descriptions that one finds in the Hari-vamśam, Viṣṇu Purāṇa etc. of the Ābhīras among whom the cow-herd god lived* prove that they were a nomadic people living in settlements in the midst of jungles and moving about from place to place in their waggons. It cannot be expected that this nomadic tribe of cow-herds borrowed an abstract conception from the Vedas and built up their favourite god according to it.

¹ Hopkins E. W. *Religions of India*, P. 57.

² Roy Chaudhuri, *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect.* 1936, P. 74.

**Note 2.*—Na vayanṁ kṛṣṇakṛttaro vaṇijyājīvinō na ca
Gāvō'smaddaivataṁ tata vayanṁ vanacarā yataḥ.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa Bh. v. ch. 10 v. 26.

Na dvārabandhavarāṇā na gṛhakṣetṛiṇastatha
Sukhināḥ sakale loke yatha vai chakrachāriṇāḥ

Viṣṇu P. Book v Ch. 10. v. 33.

Vayanṁ vanacarā gopāḥ sadā godhanājīvināḥ

Harivamśam, Viṣṇu Parvan Ch. 16. v. 2.

The texts in the *R̥gveda* cited by Dr. Roy Chaudhuri furnish but meagre evidence in support of his theory that the pastoral associations of Kṛṣṇa were borrowed from the *R̥gvedic* Viṣṇu. If it is a question of pastoral associations only there is more dependable evidence in the *R̥gveda* that these associations might have been borrowed from another *R̥gvedic* god. Hymns are sung in the *R̥gveda* to Pūṣan the herdsman's god. Pūṣan carried a goad in hand like Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa¹. He guided and protected cattle². He was prayed to lead his devotees to some region abounding in luxuriant grass on which their herds might feed³. The word Vraja so familiar in the legends of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa occurs in the *R̥gveda* in the same sense in which it is used in these legends⁴. Now if it is held that the pastoral associations of Kṛṣṇa are derived from an older tradition, here is the tradition of a god taking care of cattle and flocks and as such carrying a goad in hand. It would be a plausible hypothesis that the goad of the *R̥gvedic* Pūṣan passed on to the Purāṇik Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and this hypothesis would receive indirect support from the fact that in the period intervening between Pūṣan and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa no other bucolic god is known, though India has never lacked pastoral tribes at any period in her history.

The reasons that go against the theory of derivation from an older tradition are that derivation

¹ *R̥gveda*, vi. 53. 5, 6.

² *Ibid*, v. 53. 9 ; 54. 5, 10.

³ *Ibid*, 1-42-8.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1-38 3.

cannot be proved by means of continuity of tradition, that the development of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa followed new lines to which there is no parallel in early literature and that if it is conceded that the idea of pastoral Kṛṣṇa was developed by the Ābhīras, considering that they were themselves a pastoral people, derivation of the "pastoral associations" of their god from a Vedic deity would appear to be quite unnecessary. We are inclined to take the view that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was an independent deity not of *Ābhīra* association and Christian origin as Bhandarkar thinks, but of *Ābhīra* origin. Bhandarkar's theory of Christian borrowing cannot be accepted for the reasons for which it has been criticised by other scholars and for the further reason that there is a fundamental difference, a difference which has been overlooked, between the conception of child Kṛṣṇa and child Jesus. The conception of child Kṛṣṇa has found expression in the cult of Bāla-Gopāla. The cult image is represented as a baby on all fours with one hand stretched out in the posture of asking for some presents. There is no room for the mother in the cult. The child Jesus carried in the arms of the Virgin Mother belongs to altogether different order of ideas namely, exaltation of the Mother or maternity. In the elevated conception of Madonna it is the Mother and not the child that occupies the first place. Mariolatry or the cult of Mary the Mother arose outside Europe in Phrygia and had to be recognised by the orthodox Church before the second half of the 4th century after Christ.

Now, if the theory of Christian origin of the cow-herd god is rejected,—a theory which also

involves recognition of the cow-herd Kṛṣṇa as an independent deity,—what other reasons are there for holding the view that he was originally independent of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa? One of the important reasons is the "incongruity" in the traditional history to which attention has been drawn by Bhandarkar. This incongruity raises doubts which are further confirmed by the complete silence in the expositions of the Pañcharātra system, Vyūha doctrine, Ekāntika religion, the religion of the Gītā etc., all of which are connected with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa about the worship of the cow-herd Kṛṣṇa or the two cults which arose later independently of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, namely the cult of Bāla-Gopāla or the divine child and the cult of lover Kṛṣṇa.* These doubts are also confirmed by the story told in the epic that when after the death of Kṛṣṇa and extinction of all the male members of his race at Prabhāsa, Arjuna was escorting the Vṛṣṇi women and others and the treasure of Kṛṣṇa's family from Dvārakā the Ābhīras attacked him in the Pañchana-da and carried many of the Vṛṣṇi women.* This

*Note 3.—"The earliest sculptures illustrating various exploits attributed to Kṛṣṇa which are so far known to us are certain bas-reliefs of the Gupta period at Mandor near Jodhpur and other places."—Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1925-26*, Pp. 183-184.

*Note 4.—Sa pañcanadamāsadya dharmānatisamṛddhimat-
Deḥ gopaśudhānyādhye nivāsamakaroṭ prabhuh,
Tataste pāpakarmāṇo lobhopahatacetasah,
Abhīra mantrayāmasuḥ sametyaśubhadarśinaḥ,
Ayameko'arjunō dhanvī vṛddhbālāḥ hatēśvaram
Nayatyasmānatikramya yodhāśceme hṛtaujaśah,
Tato yaṣṭipraharāṇā dasyavaste sahasraśah, etc.

(Continued on next page)

story of outrage by the Ābhīras cannot be reconciled with the story of the early Ābhīra associations of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa unless it is assumed that there were different Ābhīra tribes at different stages of civilisation, and entirely cut off from one another. Arjuna on his way to Indrapastha from Dvārakā must have touched only the outlying parts of the Punjab not at great distance from Indrapastha. The Ābhīras of Vraja too, were not probably at a greater distance from Indraprastha than the Pañcanada branch. Taking it for granted that we have here two branches of the same tribe at the same period there is no reason why we should believe that the Vraja branch who lived in jungles and were neither traders nor cultivators and moved about from place to place in waggons had risen high above the Pañchanada branch who are spoken of as mlecchas and who kidnapped the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's family. This enmity of the Ābhīras or Gopas of the Pañchanada to the house of Kṛṣṇa can be explained only if it is assumed that Gopāla Kṛṣṇa who rose from amongst the Ābhīras was independent of and rose later than Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

The most conclusive evidence of the independent origin of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is, however, furnished by the Harivaṁśam, the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas. This is the story of the opposition offered by Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa to the celebration of the festival of Indra by the Gopas and the propagation of a new,

Prekṣatastveva parthasya vṛṣṇandhaka varastriyaḥ
Jagmurādāya te mlecchāḥ samantājjanmjara.

Mahābhārata, Mausala P. ch. 7.

heterodox religion by him among the Gopas. This story is of great importance for understanding what Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa stood for and his character.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives a straight forward account. "At this season when the skies were bright with stars, Kṛṣṇa repaired to Vraja, found all the cow-herds busily engaged in preparing for a sacrifice to be offered to Indra, and going to the elders, he asked them, as if out of curiosity, what festival of Indra it was in which they took so much pleasure. Nanda replied to his question and said, 'Śatakratu or Indra is the sovereign of all clouds and of the waters ; sent by him, the former bestow moisture upon the earth whence springs the grain, by which we and all embodied beings subsist ; with which also, and with water, we please the gods : hence too these cows bear calves and yield milk, and are happy and well nourished. So when the clouds are seen distended with rain, the earth is neither barren of corn, nor bare of verdure, nor is man distressed by hunger. Indra, the giver of water, having drunk the milk of the earth by the solar ray, sheds it again upon the earth for the sustenance of all the world. On this account all sovereign princes offer with pleasure sacrifices to Indra at the end of rains and so also do we, and so do other people.

"When Kṛṣṇa heard this speech from Nanda in regard to the worship of Indra, he determined to

Note 5.—*Dadarśendramahārambhayodytānastān vrajsaukasāḥ
Kṛṣṇastanutsukāndrṣṭvā gopānutsavalālasan,
Kautāhaladidarṣaṁ vākyaṁ prāha vṛddhaṁ mahāmatīḥ
Ko'yaṁ śakramaho nāma yena vo harṣa āgataḥ,*

Meghanampayasam chośo devarajaḥ śatakrataḥ
 Tena sañchodita megha varṣantyambumayaṁ rasam,
 Tadvr̥ṣṭijanitaṁ śasyaṁ vayamanye cha dehinaḥ
 Kṣiravatyā ima gāvo vatsavatyascha nirvṛtāḥ,
 Tena sañvarddhitaiḥ śasyaiḥ puṣṭāstuṣṭa bhavanti vai
 Nāśasyā nāṭṛṇa bhāmīna bubhukṣārddito janaḥ,
 Dr̥śyate yatrā dr̥śyante vr̥ṣṭimanto balahakāḥ
 Bhaumametat payo dugdham gobhiḥ saryasya varidaḥ,
 Parjanyaḥ sarvalokasya bhavāya bhuvi varṣati
 Tasmāt prāvṛṣi rājanaḥ sarve śakraṁ mudā yutaḥ
 Mahaiḥ sureśamarchanti vayamanye cha mānavāḥ
 Nandagopasya, vachanaṁ śrutvetthaṁ śakrapojane
 Kopaya tridaśendrasya prāha dāmodarastadā,
 Na vayanṁ kṛṣikarttāro vāṇijyājīvinō na cha
 Gāvo'smaddaivataṁ tāta vayanṁ vanacharā yataḥ,
 Ānvikṣiki trayi varta dandanīstistathapara
 Vidyāchaṭuṣṭayaṁ tvetai vārtāmatra śr̥ṇuṣva me,
 Kṣirvāṇijya tadvat tu tṛtīyaṁ paśupālanam
 Vidyā hyeta mahābhaga varta vṛttitrayāśrayāḥ,
 Karṣakāṇaṁ kṣirvṛttīḥ paṇyaṁ vipaṇijivinam
 Asmakam gāḥ parāvṛttirvārtābhedañriyaṁ tribhiḥ
 Vidyayā yo yayā yuktas'tasya sa daivataṁ mahat
 Saiva pūjyārchanīyā chu saiva tasyopakārikā,
 Yo'nyasya phalamaśnan vai pūjayatyaparaṁ naraḥ
 Iha cha pretya chaivāsau tāta nāpnoti śobhanam
 Kṛṣyantāḥ prathitāḥ śimāḥ śimāntaṁcha punarvanam
 Vanāntā girayaḥ sarve te chāsmākam parā gatīḥ,
 Na dvārabandhāvaraṇā na gr̥hakṣetrīṇastathā,
 Sukhinaḥ sakale loka yathā vai chakrachārīṇaḥ,
 Śr̥uyante girayaśchāmī vane'sminkāmaropīnaḥ,
 Tattadṛpaṁ samāsthāya ramante sveṣu sānuṣu,
 Yadā chalte'parādhyante teṣāṁ ye kōṇanaukasāḥ,
 Tadā sirphādirōpaistān ghātayanti mahidharāḥ,
 Gīriyajñastvayaṁ tasmāt goyajñascha pravartyataṁ,
 Kimasmākam mahendrena gāvaḥ śailāscha devatāḥ,
 Mantrayajñaparā viprāḥ śītāyajñascha karṣakāḥ,
 Gīrigoyajñasīlāscha vayamadrivanāśrayāḥ,
 Tasmād govardhanaḥ śailo bhavadbbirvividhārhaṇaiḥ,
 Archyatāṁ pūjyatāṁ medhyaṁ paśuṁ hatvā vidhānataḥ,
 Sarvaghoṣasya sandoho gr̥hyatāṁ mā vichāryatāṁ,
 Bhojyantāṁ tena vai viprastathā ye chābhivāñchchakāḥ,
 Samarchite kṛte home bhojiteṣu, dvijātīṣv
 Śaratpuṣpakṛtāpīḍāḥ paṇigachchantu gogaṇāḥ,
 Etanmama mataṁ gopāḥ sampratyādriyate yadi,
 Tataḥ kṛtū bhavet pr̥iturgavāmadrestatthā mama,

Viṣṇu Purāṇa Book V Ch. 10.

put the king of celestials into a passion and replied, "We, father, are neither cultivators of the soil, nor dealers in merchandise; we are sojourners in forests and cows are our divinities. The object that is cultivated by any one should be to him as his chief divinity; that should be venerated and worshipped as it is his benefactor. He who worships the deity of another, and diverts him from the reward that is his due, obtains not a prosperous station either in this world or in the next. Where the land ceases to be cultivated there are bounds assigned, by which commence the forests; the forests are bounded by the hills, and so far do our limits extend. We are not shut in with doors, nor confined within walls, we have neither fields nor houses, we wander about happily wherever we list travelling in our waggons. The spirits of these mountains, it is said, walk in the woods in whatever forms they will, or in their proper sport upon their precipices. If they should be displeased with those who inhabit the forests, then, transformed into lions and beasts of prey, they will kill the offenders. We then are bound to worship the mountains, to offer sacrifices to cattle. What have we to do with Indra? Cattle and mountains are our gods. Brāhmaṇas worship with prayer; cultivators of the earth adore their landmarks; but we who tend our herds in the forests and mountains should worship them and our kine. Let prayers and offerings then be addressed to the mountain Govardhana, and kill a victim in due form. Let the Gopas circumbulate the cows, decorated with garlands of

autumnal flowers. If the cow-herds will attend to these suggestions they will secure the favour of the mountains, of the cattle and also mine".³

Persuaded in these words by Kṛṣṇa Nanda and other residents of Vraja performed Gīri-yajña as instructed by Kṛṣṇa and offered curds, rice boiled in milk and flesh to the hill.

The festival of Indra, the celebration of which was so vehemently opposed by Kṛṣṇa was an ancient institution. We find a mention of the hoisting of the *dhvaja* in the R̥gveda. From the context in which it is mentioned we may take it that the festival of hoisting the flag was known in some form or other in R̥gvedic times.

Asmākamindraḥ samṛteṣu dhvajeṣvasmākaṁ
yā iṣavastā jayantu,
Asmākaṁ virā uttare bhavantvasmān u devā
avatā haveṣu,

R̥gveda X. 103. 11.

(When the flag is hoisted Indra happens to be on our side only ; may our arrows be victorious ; may our heroes be supreme ; O gods, protect us in battle.)

We find here that the hoisting of the flag is propitiatory of Indra and connected with battle. In the epic and Purāṇik accounts also the hoisting of the flag has the same association.

The festival is described in the Mahābhārata, and with a wealth of details in many of the Purāṇas. King Vasu.....

1 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Book V, Ch. 10 vs. 16f. (Bangavasi edition).

Uparicara of chedi was the first to celebrate the festival according to the Mahābhārata. "The enemy of Vṛtra gave him a bamboo stick....After a year had passed the king planted it into the earth for worshipping Śakra. From that time up to this day kings plant sticks or poles following his practice. The next day, the king, decorating the pole with garlands, cloth, ornaments etc. hoisted it and worshipped Indra in it. Out of love for the king Indra came down to the earth in the form of a goose (haṁsarūpeṇa) and accepted his worship in that form.Indra said to the king, 'Those kings and men who would worship me or cause me to be worshipped thus would obtain prosperity and victory in their kingdoms and the people would be happy there'. (Ādi Parvan, Ch. 63, vs. 17-29). Indradhvaja is again referred to in the story of Śakuntalā.*

In the Devī Purāṇa it is told that Viṣṇu obtained a standard (ketu) from Śiva after he was defeated by the daitya king Hutāgni and his son Vijradaṇḍa. This standard was placed on his chariot by Viṣṇu and he killed the daityas. Later on Indra and other gods having been defeated by the daityas approached Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā advised them to worship Viṣṇu and obtain the

*Note 6.—Parasparaśiṣṭaśākhaiḥ pādapaḥ kusumanvitaḥ.
 Aśobhaṭa vanam tat iu mahendradhvasannibhaiḥ
Mahābhārata Ādi P. ch. 70, v. 14.

In the Udyoga Parvan Kṛṣṇa says to Karna that the new moon will come after seven days. This is the day sacred to Śakra. So the preparations for the war should be made on that day.

victory-giving standard from him. Viṣṇu propitiated by the gods presented Indra with the standard declaring that the hoisting of the standard even by earthly king would give them victory. The standard passed from Indra to Chandra and from him to Dakṣa. Since then kings in the earth have been hoisting the standard of Indra. When the standard is hoisted by a king houses and streets should be decorated, there should be songs by prostitutes, blowing of conch and other music. Plantain trees with streamers should be set up and Brāhmaṇ girls should be fed.¹ According to the Kālikā Purāṇa a wooden, metal or earthen image of Indra is to be worshipped along with the standard of Indra (Indra-dhvaja). (Bṛhaddharma lays down that a picture of Indra is to be worshipped). A king who performs this ceremony obtains supremacy in the world. Famines do not visit his domain and crops do not suffer from pests. His subjects do not become impious or suffer premature death. Annual celebration of the festival increases prosperity².

Different elements, it is obvious from the accounts in the Purāṇas, entered into this festival in honour of Indra, the most prominent feature in which consisted in the ceremonious hoisting of a post or pole consisting of the straight, tall trunk of Arjuna, Udumvara, Aśvakarṇa, Dhava etc. which

1. *Devī Purāṇa*, Ch. 11

(Bangavasi edition).

2. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Ch. 88.

(Bangavasi edition).

was to be 22 cubits long and was wound round with silken cloth'.**

The stories of the origin of the Indra festival show that three highest deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were responsible for the inception of the festival which came to be associated later exclusively with Indra. What led Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa to oppose this old, venerable festival?

The opposition might have been due to either old enmity or a spirit of rivalry. The legends referring to Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement do not mention anything from which it may be assumed that there existed any such cause of the opposition. One of the legends referring to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa mention a battle between Kṛṣṇa and Indra over the Pārijāta tree which was obtained from the churning of the ocean and had been planted by Indra in his own gardens. But the cause of this battle between Kṛṣṇa and Indra which ended in the defeat of Indra and surrender of the tree was feminine jealousy. Satyabhāmā, consort of Kṛṣṇa, was jealous of the position of Sachī, Indra's queen and true to feminine instinct she called upon Kṛṣṇa to prove his loudly-professed love for her by taking away the Pārijāta tree to which she had taken a fancy and which she

1 *Devī Purāṇa*, Ch. 12.

**Note 7.—In the Hindu calendar the festival is known as "Sakrāutthana"; but the only instance of the survival, as it would appear, of public Celebration of this festival is reported by Dalton. According to him, a festival called *Indra-rath* is celebrated in some parts of Chota Nagpur when "amidst great rejoicings an enormous umbrella attached to the end of a mast some forty feet high is raised like a Maypole by the united force of all the people that can be collected." (17). In Nepal there is a festival akin to it known as *Indra-yātrā*.

wanted to plant in her own gardens at Dvārakā. This episode occurs in the Harivaṁśam, the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas but not in the epic. Then there is the well-known story of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest by Agni. On this occasion, against Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna who supported Agni were arrayed all the gods, rākṣasas, nāgas etc. led by Indra. There is no suggestion that the battle that was fought on this occasion was due to rivalry between Indra and Kṛṣṇa.

Though there is nothing to prove that there was any personal rivalry or enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Indra and therefore the cause of the opposition offered by boy Kṛṣṇa to the celebration of Indra's festival is unaccountable from the traditional history, the opposition provoked Indra to a conflict not directly with boy Kṛṣṇa, but vicariously with the Gopas. Indra used the same weapon against the Gopas as he had used when the Khāṇḍava forest was being burnt by Agni. He summoned saṁvartaka and other clouds and under his orders they poured forth heavy showers on the cow-settlement causing great damage and distress to the Gopas and their cattle. Deeply moved by their distress Kṛṣṇa tore off the Govardhana hill from its roots and held it high over the cow-settlement like an umbrella. For seven nights the clouds poured forth torrential rains and for seven nights did Kṛṣṇa hold up the hill. What followed next is difficult to follow. Foiled in this way Indra withdrew his clouds. Thereafter he visited Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlement declaring

1 Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872 P. 167.

that he had come requested by cattle (Gobhīś-coditaḥ) and at their request (gabāṃ vāḥ pracoditaḥ) would install him, an Indra of cattle, as Upendra and he would come to be known as Govinda.¹ This formal installation of Kṛṣṇa as "Upendra," might suggest that Kṛṣṇa was after attaining a position like Indra's and Indra condescended to recognise him as his junior. Why this should have been done at the request of cattle is difficult to understand, for cattle had nothing to do with Indra. All this looks like being quite irrelevant and so also is Indra's request to Kṛṣṇa to take Arjuna, his son under his protection.

The motive of the opposition should, we think, be sought in Kṛṣṇa's own words and acts. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that having heard Nanda Gopa's explanation for the celebration of Indra's festival Damodara spoke as though to provoke Indra (kopāya tridaśendrasya etc.)² as follows: "The cattle are our gods etc." The Harivaṃśam puts these words in Kṛṣṇa's mouth: "Let the three worlds worship Śakra, but by us the mountains are to be worshipped. I shall introduce cattle worship by force (balādapi na saṃśayaḥ) without a doubt."³ This threat of the use of force in connection with the introduction of a new form of worship should be noted. If it were Kṛṣṇa's desire merely to stop the celebration of Indra's festival this threat would appear to be superfluous. If the opposition were due to enmity or rivalry and his object were to

1 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. V. Ch. 12.

2 *Ibid.*, Bk. V. Ch. 10. V. 25.

3 *Harivaṃśam*, *Viṣṇu Parvaṇ*, Ch. 17 Vs. 43, 44 (Bangavasi Ed.)

prove his own superiority over Indra the logical course for him would have been to inflict a defeat on Indra in a straight fight or to persuade the Gopas to worship him instead of worshipping Indra. But the course followed by him would appear to be surprising. He sought to wean away the Gopas from an orthodox practice and preached to them the worship of mountains and cattle. He was so serious about it that he even proceeded to threaten them that if they did not willingly accept this new religion he would introduce it by means of force.

It has been seen that the festival of Indra was an old, well-recognised practice. Now the worship of mountains and cattle inculcated by Kṛṣṇa was quite different from the old cow and hill worship. The character of the old cow worship in India dating from the R̥gvedic times is well-known and it will be readily recognised that the decoration of cows with garlands of autumnal flowers, circumbulation round them, offering of sacrifices etc., mean a different thing from recognition of the divinity of the cow on the one hand and identification of the cow with Aditi, Earth, clouds, the sky etc., on the other hand. This gala decoration of cows is a tribal festival of the pastoral Gopas and the festival in this form survives to this day among cow-herd castes. As regards the worship of mountains there is something quite new in it. The divinity of hills is recognised in the R̥gveda. They are invoked to come to the sacrifice¹, to protect the wealth given by the liberally-disposed wives of the gods.²

¹ *R̥veda*, x. 36. 1.

² *Ibid.*, v. 11. 34-23.

Parvata is invoked to destroy those who raise an army for the enemies¹. The divinity of mountains is also recognised in the epic. They are worshipped with offerings of fruits, flowers etc., they are said to perform sacrifices². They speak, they revere Śiva and Indra³. They are said to be actuated by human feelings⁴. The Purāṇas multiply the old attributes, conceive of them as human beings, prescribe the worship of hills with special sanctity as seats of different divinities. The mountain worship inculcated by Kṛṣṇa is quite unlike this orthodox worship. He urges the Gopas to worship mountains for two reasons, namely, for the benefit received from mountains on which and in forests the cow-herds tend their herds; and, for fear that assuming the forms of beasts of prey mountains might destroy them being displeased with them for some reason or other. This belief that mountains assume zoomorphic forms is not to be found in the early sacred literature. As no trace of this belief occurs also in the later literature possibly it was borrowed from sources that are still unknown or what is more probable, it was the old tribal belief of the nomadic Gopas who lived in forests and on hills. This would appear to receive confirmation from Kṛṣṇa's statement that the worship inculcated by him was in accordance with the condition of life of the cow-herds. This appeal to physical fear as the basis of religious worship is indicative of a low stage of

1 *Ibid.*, 1-132-6.

2 *Mahābhārata śānti P.*, Ch. 321. v. 182.

3 *Ibid.*, *Anuśāsana P.*, Ch. 14. v. 399.

4 *Ibid.*, *Ādi P.*, Ch. 63. v. 35. (Bangavasi Ed.)

culture which is incompatible with the degree of civilisation and culture attributed to the Gopas in the texts. The mountain worship inculcated by Kṛṣṇa has, again, a trait associated with a primitive type of culture. This is the injunction that animal sacrifices should be offered to mountains. Animal sacrifices are not prescribed to mountains in the sacred literature. To find an analogy to it we have to search among the pre-Dravidian tribes of India. The use of the word "mleccha" in connection with the Abhīras who attacked Arjuna in the Pāñcanada while escorting Vṛṣṇī ladies and carried away many of them might be a true indication of the condition of Abhīras before the rise of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. When he arose they were just coming under Brāhmanical influence. This religion preached by boy Kṛṣṇa to the nomadic Gopas involving animal sacrifice to mountains may be further contrasted to the Pāñcharātra or Ekāntika religion expounded by Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa which revolts against the old Vedic religion in rejecting animal sacrifices in rituals.

There is no evidence, we have seen, that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa's opposition to the celebration of Indra's festival was due to enmity or rivalry. What he really wanted, it appears, was to wean away his people from a Brāhmanic practice and convert them to a heterodox worship of mountains and cattle. It was a revolt against orthodoxy and Brāhmanical deities. "What have we to do with Indra, .. Brāhmaṇas worship with prayer; cultivators of the earth adore their landmarks; but we who tend our herds in the forests and mountains should

worship them and kine ". These words probably imply that the Gopas "who were not shut in with doors nor confined within walls, ..had neither houses nor fields but wandered about travelling in their waggon " had given up their own deities and cults and taken to the worship of Brāhmanical deities. Now, who was in a position to bring them back to their own deities and cults and to whose interest was it to do so but their own tribal chief ? Again, who but their tribal leader was in a position to threaten them that if they did not willingly follow the cult preached by him he would use force ?

An attempt has been above to show that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was an independent deity who was identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Considering that this identification took place in the 3rd or 4th century after Christ, when at least portions of the great Epic were still in shaping, the nearly complete silence of the epic about him is significant. The Purāṇas do not admit his independent origin but it is proved largely on evidence contained in them. The most important piece of this evidence shows Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa in the role of an opponent of Brāhmanical deities and cults and an advocate of a primitive type of nature-worship and animal-worship. This religion preached by him is, in his opinion, in accordance with the state and ways of life of the forest-dwelling (*vanacarāḥ*) Gopas or Ābhīras who had nothing to do with the deities and practices of civilised folks such as Brāhmaṇas, traders and cultivators of the soil. It is quite likely, therefore, that this primitive nature-worship formed the old tribal religion of the

Ābhīras who are spoken of in the epic as mlecchas. A person in such a position of authority as made it permissible for him to threaten his people with the use of force in case of disregard of his advice for a return to the old tribal religion could only have been their tribal chief.

How exactly this tribal hero of the wild, nomadic Gopas, an opponent of Brāhmanism came to be accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and identified with the epic hero, it is difficult to trace step by step from the available evidence. Considerations that secured for him an entry into the old pantheon and promotion were probably the same as in cases of other local or tribal deities, namely, popularity of the tribal deity and acquisition of political power by or advancement in the social scale of the tribe concerned. That the Ābhīras attained political importance between the 2nd and 3rd century A. C. is proved by early evidence¹. How successfully this tribal god has established himself in the Hindu pantheon is shown by the fact that in his subsequently developed two aspects of child god (Bāla-Gopāla) and lover god (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) he has practically usurped in many cases the place assigned theoretically in their icononic worship among many of the Vaiṣṇava sects to Viṣṇu or his epic incarnation Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This is proved by a glance at the important festivals celebrated by the Vaiṣṇava sects in many parts of the country, such as Janmaṣṭamī, Dola-yātrā, Rāsa-yātrā, Chandana-yātrā, Jhulana or

¹ *Ibid*, *Muzala P.* Ch. 7. v. 63.

² *Bhandarkar, Op. Cit.* P. 37.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bk. iv, Ch. 24. v. 14.

Hindola-yātrā, Rādhāṣṭamī, Puṣpa-dola, Kārttika-vrata etc., in which the dark green, youthful cow-herd adorned with a crown of peacock's feathers, garland of flowers and *murali*, Rādhā, cow herdesses, cow-herds, cows, the Govardhana hill etc., feature prominently.*

**Note 8.*—Pitavastrapaidhānājartnalaṅkārabhūṣitaiḥ
Navayauvanasampannaiḥ śyāmalaiḥ sumanoharaiḥ,
Dvibhujairmuralīhastairgopaveśadharaivaraiḥ
Sikhipicchaguṇjamālāvaddhavakrimacūḍakaiḥ
etc.

*Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa Śr-Kṛṣṇa-Janma-
Khanda Ch. 18. v. 59-60.*



BHANITĀS IN VIDYĀPATI'S PADAS

By BIMANBIHARI MAJUMDAR

The practice of introducing their own name in the body of the songs, composed by mediæval Indian poets, is of considerable historical value. The poets used to offer some suggestions or reflections towards the end of the poem or song by writing "Thus says (भने) so and so". The term Bhanitā is derived from this word भन . The Bhanitā sometimes refers also to the patron or the object of worship of the poet. Such Bhanitās are found in many of the poems of Vidyapati, the greatest poet of Bihar, and possibly of the whole of India in the age of the Sultans. A statistical analysis of these Bhanitās as found in the Padas, about whose authenticity there can be very little reasonable doubt, may be helpful in determining the chronological sequence in which the poems were written. It may also help us in finding out what were the titles of the poet and consequently in selecting the genuine Padas of Vidyapati.

The sources from which the modern editors of Vidyapati's poems have collected their materials are (1) the Palmleaf manuscript found at Tarauni, (2) the Nepal Rāj Darbar Library Manuscript (3) Shivanandan Thakur's Palmleaf manuscript, (4) Rūgataranginī of Locana, (5) Grierson's Chrestomathy, (6) Padāmṛta—Samudra of Rādhāmohon Thākur, (7) Padakalpataru of Vaisnava Das, (8) MSS. of

comparatively unknown collections of Vaisnava Padas, entitled *Kīrtānāṇḍa* and *Gītacintāmaṇi*, and Pandit Bābājī's manuscript, (9) Songs current in Mithila.* Of these, the first one should rank first in importance because, up till now the largest number of Padas have been taken from this source and because the Padas contained in it give much useful information regarding the poet. This manuscript was utilised by Nagendranath Gupta when he edited the Vangīya Śāhitya Parishad edition of Vidyāpati's Padāvalī 1316 B. S.=1909-10 A. D.) Mr. Gupta presented the MS. to the Calcutta University Library, where it could not be found at the time of bringing out his Vasumaṭī edition 1340 B. S. As this valuable MS. is lost and we cannot compare its readings with those given by Gupta, we shall give the first place to the Nepal MS.

Two photograph copies of the Nepal MS. were secured for the Patna University Library and the Patna College Library through the efforts of Dr. A. P. Banerjee-Shāstri and the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal ; and the Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga kindly allowed the cost to be defrayed from the Patna University Maithil Research Fund. I have copied out the Patna University Photo-copy of the MS. Dr. A. P. Banerjee-Shāstri was kind enough

*We shall refer to these sources by the following abbreviations:—Palmleaf Ms. of Tarauni=P ; Nepal Ms.=N ; Shivanandan Thakur's Ms.=S ; Rāga Taranginī=R. Grierson=G. ; Padāmṛta Samudra=Ps. ; Padakalpataṛu=PK¹ ; Kīrtanāṇḍa=K. ; Songs current in Mithila=M ; Nagendranath Gupta and his Śāhitya Parishad edition of Padas will be referred to as N. G.

to take the trouble of verifying my readings and counting of the Padas. He has collaborated with me in elucidating the meaning of the poems. The Nepal MS. is written in old Maithil script and is believed to have been copied in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, though its script is almost similar to that of the *Karnaparvam* of the *Mahābhārata*, copied in 1447 A. D. (J. B. O. R. S. X47). It is apparently an anthology of Maithili songs, arranged in order of Rāgas. It did not bear any title, but somebody wrote "Vidyāpatika Gīta" in Devanāgar script as the title. Had it been the original title, it would have been "Vidyāpati ka Gīta" in Maithil script, and this name would have occurred in the body of the book. There is no serial numbering of the Padas in the MS. but I have numbered them serially. There are altogether 287 padas in the MS., but Nos. 8 and 16 ; 7 and 93 ; 98 and 174 are substantially the same Padas repeated twice under different Rāgas. Padas 193 and 207 are practically one and the same Pada with the same Rāga. The *Bhanitā* of thirteen songs shows that they are written by poets other than Vidyapati. The serial number of these Padas are (1) 30 with राजपण्डित कवि कमलाकमन रसिया धन्यमानिक जान ।* N. G. publishes this Pada (509 in his collection) from P. and K. with the *Bhanitā* राजपण्डित भान, रमनि राधा रसिक यदुपति, सिंहभूपति जान । (2) 41 with कंसनृपति भन ; N. G. (708) says that his

**Dhanyamanika* is the same as *Dhanyamanikya*, the 150th king of Tripura. We learn from *Rajamāla* that he ruled from 1439 to 1515 A. D. and invited expert singers and musicians from Mithilā to his own Kingdom.

source is N. but he omits the last two lines of the Bhanitā given in N. (3) 56 with कंस नराएन गाविहा रे (N. G. 479 source N.). (4) 60 with विष्णुपुरी कह (not published by N. G.) (5) 130 with लखिमिनाथ भन (N.G. 163), (6) 146 with कवि सिरिधर हेन मान, कंसनराएन नृपवर मोर देवि रमान (not published by N. G.) (7) 170 with नृपमलदेव सुन (not published by N. G.) (8) 175 with भनइ अमृतकर (not published by N. G.), (9) 179 with भनइ अमिअंकर (not published by N. G.), (10) 208 with पृथिवीचन्द भने मेदिनि सार । इरस बुझए मलिक दुनार ॥ (not published by N. G.)*, (11) 224 with चन्द्रसिंह नरेस जीवओ, मानु जम्पए रे । (N. G. 322), (12) 269 with नरनरायन नागराकवि धीरेसर भाने । (N. G. 43 his source is N. but he gives the Bhanitā as नर नारायन नागरा कवि । धीरे सरस भाने ।) Dr. Banerjee-Shastri and myself have failed to discover an additional स after धीरेसर in the photo-copy ; (13) 270 with कवि रुद्रधर एहु भाने । (N. G. 501, his source is N. but he gives after भाने—राजा सिवसिंह रुपनरायन, लखिमा देवी रमाने ।

N. G. In his comment on the Pada with the Bhanitā of Lakhimin tha (page 101) says that the MSS. N. and P. do not contain poems by any poet other than Vidyāpati, so this poem must be ascribed

*In an article published in the 'Seeker' (April 1942) Mr. Subhadra Jha, who worked on the Nepal MS. under the guidance of Dr. A. P. Banerjee-Sastri points out that only Padas 7 and 93 and part of 16 and 8 are the same ; but I have found as stated above, 2 more cases of repetition. In his article पृथिवीचन्द has been printed as पृथ्वीचन्द and धीरेसर as धिरेसर । The analysis of the contents of the Padavali given in this pioneer article of Jha is comprehensive and accurate, and will provide the basis of further researches.

to Vidyāpati. A misunderstanding of the nature of N. made him put forward such a weak argument. Of the twelve poets mentioned above Kamsanārāyana and Amiyakara are known from Rāgataranginī to have been popular poets of Mithila. Two Padas with the Bhanitā of Kasamnārāyanā are found in the Rāgataranginī (p. 77 and p. 97); and none of the two has been accepted by N. G. as Vidyāpati's composition; though he has accepted the two Padas of N. with similar Bhanitā. The last two lines of the Pada printed in R. in p. 97 are सुमुखि समाद् समादरे समदलनसिरासाह सुरताने । नसिराभूपति सौरमदेशपति कंसनरायन भाने । Amongst the kings of the Oinwar dynasty, according to the genealogy compiled by Grierson from the Panjas of Mithilā, only one King, Lakshminātha, son of Rāmabhadra and grandson of Bhairava Simha, bore the Viruda, Kamsanārāyana (IA. XIV 196). This is supported by the colophon of Mantrapradipa (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 34-35). He is known, from the colophon of a MS. of Devīmāhātmyam to have been reigning in 392 L. S.—1511 A. D. Nasira Shah referred to in the pada, may be identified with Nausrat Shah (1518-31), son of Husain Shah of Bengal. If we identify Nasirā Shah with Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1422-1454) of Bengal, Kamsanārāyana shall have to be identified with Dhīrasimha, son of Narasimha, who (Narasimha) is known from the Kandaha Inscription to have reigned in 1435 A. D. Dhīrasimha is referred in the 6th Introductory verse of Durgābhakti Taranginī as “रिपुराजकंसदलन प्रत्यङ्ग नारायन” and in the Setudarpanī, written in 321 L. S. as “रिपुराजकंस-

नारायण". Dr. K. P. Jayaswal without taking into consideration the evidence of Durgābhakti-Taranginī came to the conclusion that the text of Setudarpani does not justify the attribution of Viruda Kamsanārayana to Dhīrasimha (J. B. O. R. S., XX, 18). A correct identification of Kamsanārayana is important, because it will enable us to ascertain the date of Siridhara, who according to N. 146 was the court-poet of Kansanārayana, as well as of Govindadasa, two of whose Padas contain the following Bhanita

सुकुत सुफल सुनह सुन्दरि गोविन्द वचन सारे ।
सोरमरमन कंसनरायन मिलत नन्द कुमारै ॥
(R. P. 100-101)

and दास गोविन्द भन कंसनरायन सोरम-देवि-समाज ॥ (R. p. 101-102). N. G. has ascribed both these Padas to Vidyapati. He admits that he has taken both these Padas from R. but curiously enough instead of the Bhanitas quoted above we find in his collection respectively the following :

सुकुति सुफल सुनह सुन्दरि, विद्यापति वचन सारे ।
कंसदलन नरायन सुन्दर, मिलत नन्दकुमारै ॥
(N. G. 59)

and विद्यापति भन कंसनरायन सोरम-देवि-समाज (N. G. 523). Ragataranginī, P. 84 gives a song by Amiyakara with the following Bhanita.

भनइ अमिअकर सुनु मधुरापति रामचरित अपारे ।
राजासिचसिंह रुपनरायन लखिमा देइ कण्ठक्षरे ॥

The same song is published in N. G. (317) from P. with exactly similar readings excepting the last line, which in his compilation is राजा सिचसिंह रुपनरायन, सुकाव भन कण्ठक्षरे ॥ Grierson (37) gives the

Pada not in the Bhanitā of **अमियकर** but with the Bhanitā of Vidyapati along with the mention of **राजा सिवसिंह रुपनराएन प्राखवती कण्ठहारे**। It is also found in PK. (twice 1523 and 2744) Ps., K. and Gītacintāmani. PK. gives the Bhanitā of Vidyapati. In judging the genuineness of such a Pada found in many source books, the authority of P. and R. are to be considered higher than that of G. and PK., because G. was collected in 1881-82 from oral tradition, while P. is said to have been written three hundred years ago and R. towards the end of the 17 Century.* PK. contains many Padas which bear the Bhanitā of Vidyapati, but the plain Bengali language and the Poet-Caitanya ideology of these poems show that some of these could not have been written by our poet. In the case of the Pada under consideration, it is likely that the use of **लखिमा देई कण्ठहार** as the adjective of Sivasimha led the anthologists to ascribe it to Vidyapati, who used **कवि-कण्ठहार** or **कण्ठहार** as his most favourite title. It is probable that the very association of the name of Sivasimha in the Pada made them come to the conclusion that it was written by Vidyapati, the most famous of the poets in the court of Sivasimha. But I must admit that though there is considerable doubt regarding the genuineness of this song, yet it is difficult to ignore the combined authority of G., PK., PS. and K.

*Locana Kavi says that he wrote Rāga-tarangini at the command of the brother of Mahinath (Introductory verse 8), the date of Mahinath, the ruler of Darbhanga is 1668—1690 A. D. (History of Tirhut by S. N. Singh, P. 217). S. N. Singh also states (P. 146) that a MS. of Naisadha copied by Lochana Kavi in the Saka year 1601 (1681 A. D.) is available in the Darbhanga Raj Library.

Lakhiminath, the author of N 130, may be the same as King Lakhiminath Kamsanârâyaṇa.

We are not sure whether अमिअकर and अमृतकर are one and the same person. Two poems of अमृतकर however, are found in Śivanandan Thākur's MS. (No. 68 and 82). In Pada 68 of his collection we find भनइ अमृत with जसमा देवि रमान भैरवसिंह भूपराय जाने ॥ We shall show that none of the undoubted Padas of Vidyâpati refers to Bhairavasimha, brother of Dhīrasimha. In Pada 82 S. the Bhanitâ gives सुकवि अमृतकर but the name of the patron, the husband of मधुमति देवि could not be deciphered by Thakur.

Twelve Padas in N. are without any Bhanitâ or any indication that they were composed by Vidyâpati. These are Nos. 48, 131, 132, 133, 134, 160, 172, 189, 204, 274, 279 and 281. Of these 133, (N. G. 18) 134 (N.G. 368) 160, and 189 (N.G. 149) are incomplete. It might be supposed that words like 'भनइ विद्यापतीत्यादि' written after the Padas were omitted by mistake by the scribe. But we have got at least one proof that the scribe did not omit the Bhanitâ by mistake. In p. 105 of Râgataranginî there is a Pada with the Bhanitâ of Kavi Ratan. It is found in N. 132 without any Bhanitâ. The omission of the Bhanitâ of Vidyâpati is due to the knowledge that it was written by Kavi Ratan. N. G. (Hara 7, p. 502), however, takes it as Vidyâpati's.

On account of these repetitions and inclusion of Padas without Bhanitâ or with the Bhanitâ of other poets, it would be prudent to accept only 258

Padas as genuine writings of Vidyapati. * Of these 258 Padas as many as 45 are found, of course with many variations in reading, in P.; 9 (N 21, 77, 143, 174, 217, 229, 235, 260, and 261) in R ; 7 (N. 7, 72, 77, 148, 241, 245, and 257) in G. and 4 (N.61, 98, 217, and 226) in PK. The inclusion of so many of the N. Padas in other authoritative sources of Vidyapati's poems show the value as well as the genuineness of N. The word "Nepal MS." are written below each of the Padas taken by N. G. from N. I have counted these and found them to be 157 in number, but as many as 217 of the Nepal MS. Padas are printed, with more or less variations in reading in N. G. 217-157=60 of the Padas of N., therefore, have been printed by N. G. from sources other than N. Most of these 60 Padas have been taken by N. G. from P. and naturally these contain great variations in readings from those in N. I have found in many cases the N. readings much better than those of P. After carefully collating the N. Padas with those published by N. G. and other modern editors of the Padas of Vidyapati, I have come to the conclusion, that 66 of the Padas of N. have never been printed before. This conclusion, however, is tentative, as subsequent research may reveal the similarity of some of the published Padas with some of these 66.

Sixty of the N. Padas contain the Bhanitā of Vidyapati in the body of the poem. Of these, Kavi

* The calculation is as follows :

Total number of Padas in N=287

Subtract from this total 29 (4 cases of repetition+13 Padas by other poets+12 Padas without Bhanitā).

Vidyâpati or Vidyâpati Kavi occur in 16 Padas, Sukavi Vidyâpati in 4 Padas, Sarasa Kavi Vidyâpati in 4 Padas, simply Sarasa, without Vidyâpati but with Rupanârâyana in one Pada (N. 251), Kavi Kanṭhahâra with Vidyâpati in 3 Padas, Kavi Kanṭhahâra without Vidyâpati but with Sivasimha in 2 Padas (N. 31, 213), Sarasa Kavi Kanṭhahâra without the name of the poet or of any king in 2 Padas (N. 285, 286). The rest of the sixty Padas contain simply the name of Vidyâpati, without any adjective or title. Râjâ Śivasimha Rupanârâyana with Lakhimâ Devi occur in 9 of these Padas. No other queen of Śivasimha is referred to in any of these Padas. Simply Śivasimha occurs in 3 Padas and simply Rupanârâyana in one Pada. One Pada (N. 178) mentions the name of Vidyâpati but the king is referred to simply as 'नृपतिकुलसरोरुहरिव' 'the sun of the lotuslike dynasty of Kings.' Deva-simha, the father of Śivasimha, is referred to with the adjective, husband of Hâsini Devi, in one Pada (N. 221) and this Pada may be taken to be earlier than the Padas with the name of Śivasimha. N. 135 refers to Vaidyanâtha, the husband of Candana Devi and N. 277 to Vaijala Deva, the husband of Candana Devi. Vaijala may, therefore, be taken as the prâkrit form of the name of Vaidyanâtha. A Pada printed in page 108 of R. (N. G. हर 19) refers to Vaidyanâthâ the husband of चन्दल देवी (not चन्दन देवी, but न and ल in old Maithil script were sometimes almost similar). N. G. says that चन्दल is चन्डालिका a name of Umâ, the wife of Vaidyanâtha, Siva. This seems to be a little far-fetched, but we do not know of any

king or patron of Vidyapati's time with the name of Vaidyanātha. 202 Padas in N. simply bear at the end of the Pada, words like भनइ विद्यापतीत्यादि or भने विद्यापती or simply विद्यापति. Of these one Pada (N.25) contains only विद्यापतीत्यादि; N.G. (697) admits that he has taken this Pada from N. and from no other source. But we could not find in N the last four lines of N. G. viz.,—

भनइ विद्यापति गाम्रोले रे

रस बुझप रसमन्ता ।

रूपनरापन नागर रे

लखिमा देवि मुकन्ता ॥

Palmleaf Ms. of Tarauni:—Rai Bahadur R. P. Ghosh, Superintendent of Patna Medical College Hospital and his brother Rai Bahadur R. R. Ghosh, Deputy Secretary, Education Department, Government of Bihar, have informed me that a Brāmhana of Deoghar (S. P.), belonging to Vidyapati's family presented this MS. to their grandfather the late Bipinbehari Ghosh and that Mohini Mohan Datta, a Munsiff, then stationed at Samastipur, borrowed it from their uncle, the late Puorna Chandra Ghosh and handed it over to the late Justice Saradācharan Mitra, who again lent it to N. G. The Ghosh family of Samastipur failed in all their attempts to get back the MS. They do not remember to have ever heard the tradition recorded by N. G. that the MS. was scribed by the great-grandson of Vidyapati. N. G. states that there are about 350 padas in it, but by counting each of the Padas under which 'Palmleaf MS.' is written, I have found that he has taken only 239 Padas from it. In the Vasumatī edition of his

collection of Vidyāpati's poems he states that he has published all the poems of Vidyāpati, contained in P. It would not be an unwarranted inference from these two statements to hold that P. contained more than 100 poems written by poets other than Vidyāpati, and so N. G. did not include them in his work. But N. G. states emphatically in p. 101 that P. and N. do not contain poems by any other poet than Vidyāpati. We have already discussed the value of this statement regarding N.

An analysis of the 239 Padas of P. published by N. G. reveals that 31 Padas are without any Bhanitā and 101 contain the name of Vidyāpati only, without any mention of patrons of the poet. 'Kavi Vidyāpati' without any king or patron is found in 8 Padas, 'Sarasa Kavi' with Śiva Simha in 2 (N. G. 225 and 330), 'Sarasa Kavi' without the name of the poet and of any patron in 2 (N. G. 60, 721); 'Sukavi Vidyāpati' without king in 1 (N. G. 521), Vidyāpati Kavivara without king in 1 (N. G. 186). The title Kanṭhabhāra occurs in 12 Padas. Of these 3 (N. G. 80, 312, and 388) contain Vidyāpati Kavi-Kanṭhabhāra' without any king, and 1 (N. G. 20) mentions the name of Śivasimha. The Bhanitā, 'Sukavi Kanṭhabhāra', without Vidyāpati but with the name of Śivasimha is found in N. G. 540, and without mentioning any patron in N. G. 434. 'Kavi Kanṭhabhāra', without Vidyāpati is found in N. G. 75 and 613 with the name of Śivasimha, and without any patron in N. G. 449. 'Sarasa Kavikanṭhabhāra' without Vidyāpati and any patron is found in N. G. 603, 'Vidyāpati Kanṭhabhāra' in N. G. 619, and 'Sukavi Kanṭhabhāra' in N. G.

687. 'Kavi Abhinava Jayadeva' without the name of the poet, but with the name of Śivasimha occurs in 1 (N. G. 227) and simply Abhinava Jayadeo without the name of the poet and without patron in 1 Pada (N. G. 553).

The patrons of the poet are referred to in 103 of P. Padas. Of these Devasimha Garuḍanārāyaṇa, husband of Hāsini Devī is mentioned only in one Pada (N. G. 269); Gajasimha, husband of Hāsini Devī is referred to in another poem (N. G. 418). Śivasimha without any queen is mentioned in 23 Padas. In another Pada (N. G. 225) Śivasimha is referred as श्री सिवसिंह सरसकवि भाने ।

Śivasimha with Lakhimi Devī is mentioned in 54 Padas, Rupanārāyaṇa, the husband of Medhādevī in 1 Pada (N. G. 60), Śivasimha as husband of Sukhamā Devī in 1 (N. G. 127), as husband of Madhumatī Devī in 1 (N. G. 186), as husband of Rupini Devī in 1 (N. G. 678), and as husband of Lakhimi and Sukhamā Devī in 1 (N. G. 467). Sukhamā is referred to in S. 84 also. G. 37 refers to another queen of Śivasimha named Prāṇavati. But the same Pada is printed in N. G. from P. with a different Bhanitā. G. 75 mentions Śivasimha as the husband of Modavatī, who might be the same as Madhumatī. From these references it appears that Śivasimha had at least five wives, namely, Lakhimi, Sukhamā, Rupini, Medhā and Madhumatī. In p. 96 of R. we get the name of another queen Sorama Devī. Grierson gathered from oral tradition the names of the six queens of Śivasimha as follows : 1. Bisvāsa, 2. Sajhāni, 3. Ratnā, 4. Lakhimā, 5. Umā 6. Guṇā. P has 13 Padas, which contain interesting

epithets of Śivasimha. Vidyapati calls his patron "highly liberal" (N. G. 20), king of Mithilā (N. G. 21), 'the Hindu Sultan, who is like a Kalpataru in making gifts' (N. G. 60), "repository of all qualities" (N. G. 104), son of Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa (the Viruda of Davaśimha, (N.G. 219), "patron of all the arts" (N. G. 294), "protector of all good people" (N. G. 330), "the like of Madana on earth" (N. G. 467), "the visible Five arrowed God" (N.G. 607), "Avatāra of Śiva" (N. G. 613), "the Eleventh Avatāra" (N. G. 736) and "a visible god" (N. G. 766). In N. we get only one such epithet, in N. 213, where Śivasimha is called रस आधार. In R. (p. 108) Śivasimha is called 'रापमुकुटमणि', (p. 114) "patron of all the arts," and in p.91 "versed in all the arts". If Śivasimha is called Śiva Avatāra in P. he is given the epithet of अमिनवकान्ध the 'new kṛṣṇa' in S. 38.

In P. reference is also made to some other patrons of Vidyapati. These are Kumāra Amara, husband of Jñāna Devi (N. G. 723), Ratidhara, husband of Rupini (N. G. 333), Śankara, husband of Jayamati Devi (N. G. 357), Rau Bhogisara, husband of Padmā Devi (N. G. 801), Renukā Devi's husband Mahesa or Mahesara, favourite of the King (N. G. 76, 609) and Dāmodara दसा सर अवधान (N. G. 120). The poet also refers to one king named Rudrasimha (N. G. 612), and one Muslim official, Malik Bahāradin (N. G. 438). We have not been able to identify them with persons,

* The name of Gaṇeśvara does not occur in the Genealogy collected by Grierson in 1885. (I. A. XIV, 196). But in the

known to history. Arjuna is referred to as the son of Tripura Simha in one Pada (N. G. 721), as husband of Kamalâ Devi in two Padas (N. G. 99 and 300) and as husband of Gūnâ Devi in another Pada (N. G. 725). N. G.'s 300 is also the same as S. 86. In S. 79 also Arjuna is mentioned as the husband of Gūnâ Devi. Vidyâpati is known to have mentioned Devasimha, the father of Śivasimha, in 1 Pada of N., 2 Padas of R. (p. 46 and p. 89) and 1 Pada of P. But this Arjuna is mentioned in as many as 5 Padas. In the concluding verse of Likhanâvali, Vidyâpati says that Râjâ Purâditya, at whose orders he undertook to write the book, conquered a Janapada, country, named Saptarî and killed King Arjuna who proved cruel to his relatives.* Arjuna is called राय in 4 out of the 5 above mentioned Padas. Śivasimha is also called राय in numerous Padas in P. (N. G. 15, 29, 75, 104, 242 etc.) N. G. in commenting on 99 and 300 says that Arjuna was probably a person of the royal family

Introduction to "The Test of A Man" (1935), Grierson writes "Bhōgīśvara died in A. D. 1360 and was followed by his son Gaṇeśvara (died A.D. 1371)". Incidentally it may be mentioned that Jayaswal suggested (J.B O.R.S. XIII 299) that 52 should be added to 252 L. S. (A. D. 1423) to find out the date of murder of King Gaṇeśvara. Grierson has referred to this article but has not accepted his contention.

ॐ जित्वा राष्ट्रकुलं तदीयवसुभिरेर्नाथिनस्तपिता

दोर्दण्डाजितसन्नरीजनपदे राज्यस्थितिः कारिता ।

संप्रामेऽर्जुनभूपतिर्विनिर्दतो बन्धौ नृशंसावितः

तेनेयं लिखनावली नृपपुरादित्येन निर्मापिता ॥

of Śivasimha and that he never sat on the throne of Mithilā. The name of Arjuna, however, does not occur in Grierson's Genealogy. Sivanandan Thakur ('Mahākavi Vidyāpati' p. 20n and p. 27) records a tradition that Tripurārisimha, youngest son of Bhavasimha, had a hand in murdering Gaṇeśvara, son of the eldest brother of Bhavasimha. He puts up the hypothesis that Arjuna is termed "Cruel to his relatives" because, of this misdeed of his father. This is hardly a tenable proposition, because the Panjas of Mithila mention Śarvasimha, and not Arjuna, as the son of Tripurasimha (IA. XIV, 196). Sir G.A. Grierson in his introduction to Vidyāpati's "The test of a Man" says that Śivasimha "rebelled against the Sultan, was defeated, and carried off to Delhi. His wife, Lakhimā, and the faithful Vidyāpati took refuge with the Rāja of Saptari in Nepal, a personal friend of Śiva Simha". Grierson's authority for this statement seems to be Chandra Jha's Introduction to Puruṣa-parikṣhā. It may be inferred from the verse of Likhanāvalī quoted above, that Purāditya conquered Saptari and killed Arjuna, the king of that place. If this interpretation be correct, it may be held that after the capture of Śiva Simha Lakhimā Devi and Vidyāpati took refuge with Rājā Arjuna of Saptari in Nepal, that the poet composed and dedicated several songs to the royal personage, who gave shelter to them, and that after some time Arjuna treated them rather cruelly and so they fled to the protection of Purāditya. The term वन्यौ नृशंसचित्तः as adjective of Arjuna may be explained in this way.

N. G. mentions P. and R. as his source for his Pada No. 484 which has the Bhanitâ 'Vidyâpati Navakavisekhara' and reference to Husain Shah*. N.G. takes this Husain Shah to be the Bengal ruler, Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. But Husain Shah came to the throne in 1493 A. D., when Vidyâpati, could not have been alive. Vidyâpati, according to B. K. Chatterjee (Journal of Department of Letters, Cal. Univ. 1927) died in c. 1448 A. D. and according to Śivanandan Thâkur also in L.S. 329 (329+1119=1448 A.D.) Haraprasad Sastri suggested that Husain Shah here refers to Husain Shah of Jaunpur, but this monarch too came to the throne in 1457 A. D. that is, about nine years after the death of Vidyâpati. All these difficulties are solved by a reference to the printed edition of Râgataranginî, where we find the name of Yasodhara in the place of Vidyâpati as the author of this Pada. It may be mentioned in this connection, that in the whole mass

N. G.'s reading is:—

मनइ विद्यापति नव कविशेखर
 पुइवी दोसर कहाँ ।
 साइ हुसेन भृङ्गसम नागर
 मालति सेनिक जहाँ ।

One of his sources is R., but he does not indicate any variation in reading between his two sources. But R. gives (P. 67).

मनइ असोधर नव कविशेखर
 पुइवी तेसर कहाँ ।
 साइ हुसेन भृङ्ग सम नागर
 मालति सेनिक ताँहाँ ॥

of Vidyāpati's poems collected in N. P., R., S., G., Ps., and PK., we have not been able to detect any other poem, where Vidyāpati is mentioned with the title of Navakaviśekhara, Kaviśekhara or Śekhara. This point is important because N. G. and all other editors of Vidyāpati's Padāvalī have arbitrarily attributed some Padas of P. K. with the Bhanitā of Kaviśekhara or Navakaviśekhara to Vidyāpati. R. (P 44, N. G. 34) contains one song by Kaviśekhara, in which reference is made to Nasarat Shah. This Kaviśekhara, therefore, was a poet who composed this song in the reign of Nasarat Shah of Bengal (1518—1531), when Vidyāpati could not have been alive.

ŚIVANANDAN THAKUR'S MS. :

Thākur received this Palmleaf MS. from Pandit Viṣṇulal Śāstri. It had 121 leaves, but leaves Nos. 1, 13—18, 23, 24, 26, 29—46, 44—82 and 84—108 are missing. Thākur takes the MS. to be more than 300 years old. He has published 86 Padas of this MS. Of these Padas Number 3 is same as N. 230, which has not been published by N. G. and its 5, 11, 12, 27, 35, 39, 40, 45, 48, 58 are also found in N. Padas 26, 50, 70 and 86 are found in N. G.'s P. Besides these 15 Padas, the rest (71) are new, though, Padas number 68 and 82 bear the Bhanitā of Amṛitakara. 25 of the S. Padas bear no Bhanitā; Vidyāpati's name along with the names of Śivasimha and Lakhimā occur in 32 Padas; Vidyāpati referring to Śivasimha without any queen in 1 Pada; simply Vidyāpati in 14 Padas; Vidyāpati mentioning simply Lakhimā-devi ramaṇa in 1 (No. 19); Vidyāpati with

Rupanarāyaṇa Sukhamā-devi-ramāna 1 (No. 84); Vidyāpati with Arjuna in 2 Padas; Vidyāpati with Mahesra in 1. There is one Pada (24), which does not mention the poet but refers to Raja Śivasimha Rupanarāyaṇa Lakhimādeviramāna. Vidyāpati uses the title Kanṭhahara in 2 Padas (36, 72) and two poems (46, 79) give the Bhanitā of Kanṭhahara without mentioning Vidyāpati. Sarasa-Kavi Vidyāpati is found in 2 Padas (7 and 43) and Abhinava Jayadeva without mention of proper name of the poet but referring to Śivasimha is found in 1 Pada (No. 50). The most interesting Pada from the biographical point of view in this collection is No. 25 which mentions the name of Vidyāpati and refers to his patron King Padumasimha, husband of Viśvāsadevi. This is the only Pada of Vidyāpati, where he has referred to Padmasimha, who according to tradition, reigned for 1 year only after the death of Śivasimha. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this Pada gives an additional ground for rejecting the tradition (recorded by Grierson, IA XIV, 196) that Viśvāsa Devi was the wife of Śivasimha. Padmasimha is referred to by Vidyāpati in Śaiva-sarvasva-hāra and Gangā-vākya-valī, both of which were written by the orders of Padma's wife Viśvāsa Devi.

RAGATARANGINI:

N. G. consulted the MS. of this book. He writes in his Introduction that it was written in the reign of Maheśa Thākura about 250 years ago. But Maheśa Thākura, the founder of the modern Darbhanga Raj died in 1569 A. D., that is, 340 years before N. G.'s publication of Vidyāpati's Padas.

The Introductory verses of R. (printed in 1934 at the Raj Press, Darbhanga) mention the name of Mahesa (verse 3), his son Śubhankara (verse 4). Śubhankara's son Sundara (verse 5), and Sundara's son Mahinātha (verse 7). The book was actually written at the orders of Narapati, the brother of Mahinātha, the date of whose reign is given by S. N. Singh (History of Tirhut, p. 217) as 1668-1690 A. D. This shows that N. G. had not carefully examined the R. The printed edition of R. bristles with mistakes, and I had not, as yet, the advantage of consulting the original MS. which is preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library. I find 50 Padas of Vidyapati in R. Of these 9 (on pp. 56, 62, 73, 78, 79, 85, 102, 104 and 114) are found also in N. Of the 41 remaining Padas 3 do not contain any Bhanitā of the poet, but, below the Padas are written "इति विद्यापतेः" : 36 contain the name of Vidyapati and two Padas (pp. 52 and 91) have the Bhanitā of Kanthahāra, and mention of the name of Śivasimha. As regards the mention of the patrons of the poet, Śivasimha is referred to in 19 Padas. Rupanāyana without Śivasimha in 2 Padas (pp. 108 and 113), Devasimha in 2 Padas (pp. 46 and 89), Renukā Devi's husband Mahesara in one Pada (p. 49), Candalā Devi's husband Vaidyanātha in one Pada (p. 108), Kamsa-dalana-Nārāyaṇa in one Pada (p. 85), and Gyasdin Suratāna, the 'Mahalama Jugapati' in one Pada (p. 57). As Durgābhakti-Tarangī calls Dhīrasimha 'Kamsa-dalana-pratyakshya-Nārāyaṇa' the R. Pada of page 85 must be taken as referring to Dhīrasimha. 'Gyasadin Suratāna' may be identified with the

Bengal Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-din Azam (1376-1410) who is known from his correspondence with the great Persian poet Hafiz to be a patron of Literature. Hafiz refers to this monarch in an Ode, the concluding verse of which says, "Hafiz, why conceal the desire that possessed you of visiting Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, it is your business to complain of the distance that separates you".

The songs which are found in the R. with the Bhanitâ of Jîvanâtha (page 111) is printed in N. G. (60) with सुकवि भनधि कष्टहार; in the place of प्रणवि जीवनाथ भाने of R. N. G.'s sources here are P. and R. Similarly a poem of Dharaṇīdhara in R. (p. 98) is printed in N. G. (792) with धैरज घरु विद्यापति भान, though in R. we find, धैरज कर घरणीधर भान । Here N. G. mentions songs current in Mithilâ as his source. One song in R. (p. 86) has the Bhanitâ of Dasa Avadhâna and refers to Alamshâha; N. G. (p. 529) takes Dasavadhâna to be a title of Vidyâpati, though, the poet has not used this title with his name in any other genuine Pada. N. G. records a tradition that Vidyâpati secured the release of Śivasimha from captivity in Delhi by dedicating this poem to the emperor. N. G. could not find out who this Alam Shâh was. But from the Cambridge History of India we find that a 'feeble minded and mean-spirited monarch', named Alam Shâh Sayyid succeeded his father Muhammad of the Sayyid dynasty in 1444 A. D. and reigned over a very small territory as a titular monarch up to 1451 A. D. The Kandahâ Inscription proves that

Narasimha-deva was reigning in Mithilā in 1435 A. D., the *Setudarpanī* shows that in 321 L. S. or 1440 A. D. Dhīrasimha was ruling, and that the MS. of *Karnaparva* (J.B.O.R.S. X, 47) shows that the same Dhīrasimha Hṛdayanārāyaṇa was on the throne of Mithilā in 1447 A. D. and therefore, Śivasimha could not have been the King of Mithilā in the reign of Alam Shāh (1444—1451).

GRIERSON'S CHRESTOMATHY :

As G. collected 82 Padas in 1881-82 from oral source, the language of these Padas is much more modern than that of P., N., S. or R. Grierson himself analysed the Bhanitās of his collection in an article in *IA*, XIV, 188 and we need not repeat these here. The only point which is important for our purpose is that in his collection we find the Bhanitā of Vidyāpati with *Kavikanṭhahāra* in two Padas (4 and 19). The other 80 Padas give simply the name of Vidyāpati or Kavi Vidyāpati without any title.

BENGALI SOURCES :

Ps. *compiled by Rādhāmohana Thākura in the early eighteenth century, contains 64 Padas with the Bhanitā of Vidyāpati. Of these Padas two only (Pp. 30, 31) bear the Bhanitā 'Sukavi Vidyāpati' and 4 (Pp. 44, 72, 92 and 92) have 'Kavi Vidyāpati'. All other songs have simply Vidyāpati as the Bhanitā. One Pada (p. 140) does not

* As the edition of Ps. printed by Ramoārāyana Vidyaratna of Berhampore is full of printing mistakes and has been long out of print, I have used an excellent MS. in the collection of the late Adwaitādasa Pandita Bābaji, my maternal grandfather. References are to the pages of this MS.

mention the name of the poet, but, refers to Śivasimha and Lachchimā Devī. In one Pada (p. 46) Śivasimha is referred to as the eleventh Avatāra. No other king except Śivasimha is referred to in these poems. Of these Padas, N. G. has printed 27 and PK. has taken 48, and 17 of these Padas have never been included in any of the collections of Vidyāpati.

PK. has 3101 Padas, of which 159 Padas bear the Bhanitā of Vidyāpati. Of these one Pada bears the Bhanitā of 'Sukavi Vidyāpati' (PK. 1081) and one Pada has 'Rasamaya Vidyāpati' (PK. 1501); the rest of the Padas have simply Vidyāpati in the Bhanita. No other adjective or title of Vidyāpati is found in these Padas. PK. 1940 has the Bhanita of "Nṛpati Simha Kavi", but the same Pada in N. 61 (N. G. 742) bears the Bhanitā of Vidyāpati and as such can safely be attributed to our poet. PK. 368 (N. G. 374) has the peculiar Bhanitā of 'Vidyāpati Kavi Campati Bhāna'. N. G. holds that Campati was a title of Vidyāpati; but in none of the sources discussed above do we find a single poem where Vidyāpati has used the title of Campati, nor is there any poem of Campati in these collections. On the other hand Rādhāmohan Thakura in his Sanskrit commentary of Ps. states that Campati was none else than Campati Rai, a Mahāpātra of Mahārāja Pratāparudra (of Orissa), and that this poet was not only a follower of Caitanya but also a great devotee. There are nine Padas with the Bhanitā of Campati in PK; of these two (725 and 1674) are in pure Bengali and the rest are in Brajabuli. Of these nine Padas N. G. has attributed

PK. 368, 480, 532, and 725 to Vidyapati and have rejected the five other Padas, though they have the same language and Bhanitâ as the four Padas accepted by him. Similarly, in the case of PK. Padas with the Bhanitâ of Bhūpati Simha or Simha Bhūpati, he has accepted 5 as Vidyapati's and rejected three others with the same Bhanitâ. He has also attributed one Pada with Nṛpati Simha Bhanitâ to Vidyapati. There are four Padas in PK. with the Bhanitâ of Navakaviśekhara. N. G. has taken 3 of these to be Vidyapati's and for some unknown reason has rejected the PK. 1832. Of the 38 PK. Padas with the Bhanitâ of Kaviśekhara N. G. has attributed 19 to Vidyapati and printed them in his collection. If he was convinced that Kaviśekhara was a title of Vidyapati, why did he not include all the 38 Padas in his book? Of the 98 PK. Padas with Śekhara Bhanitâ, he has attributed 3 (N. G. 253, 255, and 265) to Vidyapati, without stating anywhere that Śekhara was also a title of Vidyapati. Of the 7 PK. Padas with the Bhanitâ of Kaviranjana, N. G. has taken only three (N. G. 551, 564, and 586) as the composition of Vidyapati.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Maithil sources of Vidyapati's Padas, namely, P., N., S., R. and G. prove that the poet used the titles, 'Sarasa Kavi,' 'Kavi Kanṭhahāra,' 'Kanṭhahāra,' and 'Abhinava Jayadeva' and sometimes prefixed 'Kavi' or 'Sukavi' to his proper name. I have not seen a single Pada in these sources where Vidyapati's name is associated with the titles, 'Kaviśekhara,' 'Śekhara,' Navakaviśekhara,' 'Campati,' or 'Kaviranjana'. In the Bengali sources even the

title 'Kañḥahāra' is not associated with Vidyāpati's name. In view of these facts, editors of a critical edition of Vidyāpati's Padas should be extremely cautious in accepting as Vidyāpati's composition any Pada with the Bhanitā of 'Kaviranjana' 'Kaviśekhara,' 'Navakaviśekhara', 'Sekhara' or 'Campati.' In all the sources discussed above we find that wherever our poet has referred to Śivasimha or any other king or queen of the family of Śivasimha he has mentioned either their name or their viruda and has never referred to them as simply Bhūpatisimha, which expression is not found in any of the Maithil sources.



THE KHUṬ SYSTEM OF THE SANTALS

By REV. G. GAUSDAL

The Santals were by their forefathers divided into the following twelve Paris or Septs: Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marndi, Soren Tuḍu, Baske, Besra, Pāuria, Coṛe and Bedea.¹ The last mentioned is, however, lost, making in our time a total of eleven Septs only.

But each Paris is subdivided into several Khuṭ. Bodding states that according to Santal ideas there ought to be twelve Khuṭ in each of the original twelve Paris; but as a matter of fact there are much more in all the eleven Paris found to-day.² The Khuṭ which regard itself as the remnant of the original undivided Paris calls itself as a rule by the Paris name only; but if very explicit statement is required the word Nij is placed in front of it. One should therefore expect to find traces of the oldest tribal customs among these Khuṭs, and in the list given below they have been placed ahead of the rest.

Excepting the Häsdak' a Biṭol Khuṭ is found in every one of the remaining ten Paris. Among the Murmu people it is stated that "we do not

1 Mare Hapramko reak' Katha, recorded in Santali by L. O. Skrefsrud in 1870, 3rd Ed. Benaglia, 1928, p. 9.

2 P. O. Bodding, A Santal Dictionary, Vol. I—V, Oslo 1932-1936, IV, p. 596.

eat Murmu meat, and we do not eat on the leaves of the Murup' tree; ttree; the Biṭol Murmu people did, and became out-lawed." Whether the reasoning that the Biṭol Khūṭ disregarded the totem of the Paris, holds good for all the Biṭol Khūṭs, is not clear at the present time. The subject is unexplored, and when entering the unexplored, one is apt to meet surprises. Once when asking an old Santal guru, why there was no Biṭol Hāsdak', he pondered for a good while and then said: "Those birds (clearly referring to the Hās Hasil of the Santal traditions) are not found now-a-days,—biṭol arises from eating and drinking."

Thus, in his opinion, the Hāsdak' had no occasion to create a Biṭol Khūṭ.

That the Khūṭ system is intimately connected with the worship of the Boṅga spirits is evident. Bodding quotes a saying. "Mit' khūṭren kanale mit' khōṇḍrele boṅgak'a—we are of one stock, we perform sacrifices in the same circle."*

But many peculiar customs are connected with the Khūṭs, and it is hoped that the publication of this list will focus interest and start fresh research. It is a field where the new generation of literate Santals better than anybody else can do good work if they are encouraged.

The Santals have no written records of their history through the ages. They have got their language which bear testimony of their life in the jungle as well as their contact with the ruling races.

* A Santal Dictionary, III, p. 270.

But does not the Khūt system constitute a kind of tribal record of the life of their nation? Does not the Mañjhi-khil and the Næke-khil indicate a great conflict at one time between the chief and the priest, the Gaṛ a lingering round the glory of the time when the Santals had their own fortresses etc.?

It will be noticed that some Khūts are general and found in all or nearly all the Septs, while the majority are found only in one or a few. Bodding draws attention to the possibility that the exogamic law of the Paris system may be the cause of the origin of some of the Khūts.¹

That the Santals have been forest people is very evident from the number of trees and birds that are found in the list. And the totemistic trend of their ideas can be shown in many ways.²

In order to make up this list the writings of Dr. Campbell,³ Rev. P. O. Bodding, and Rev. C. H. Koomar⁴ have been examined. Campbell was the first to publish his work, 1899, and Bodding states that he is "indebted to Rev. A. Campbell for the names of certain Septs which are not found here."⁵

He has, however, not stated which Septs are not found "here", but added to the list the names of

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 596.

² L. S. S. O'Malley, Santal Parganas District Gazetteer, Calcutta 1910, p. 126.

³ A. Campbell, A Santali-English and English-Santali Dictionary, 2nd Ed., Pokhuria 1933.

⁴ C. H. Koomar, the History of the Santal Parganas (in Santali) Taljhari, 1937.

⁵ A Santal Dictionary, IV, p. 597.

10. Baske	Tuḍu, Besra.
11. Bedia	Soren.
12. Beḍwar	Häsdak'.
13. Bhiḍi	Baske.
14. Bhinar	Besra.
15. Bhitār	Baske.
16. Bhokta	Tuḍu.
17. Bhoso	Marṇḍi.
18. Bindar	Baske, Besra.
19. Boara	Murmu.
20. Boḍwar	Häsdak'.
21. Bowar	Murmu.
22. Buru-Beret	Marṇḍi.
23. Cacarhat'	Cörë.
24. Casa	Hembrom.
25. Cauria	Pauria.
26. Cehel	Soren.
27. Cigi	Tuḍu.
28. Cil-Bindha	Häsdak.
29. Copear	Murmu, Cörë.
30. Curuc'	Tuḍu.
31. Datela	Murmu, Hembrom, Soren, Tuḍu.
32. Gaḍa	Marṇḍi.
33. Gajaṛ	Murmu.
34. Ganḍe	Soren.
35. Gaṛ	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marṇḍi, Soren, Tuḍu, Baske, Besra, Pauria Cöṛë.
36. Goda	Marṇḍi.
37. Gua	Hembrom, Soren, Besra, Cöṛë.

38. Gua-Hembrom Cōṛē.
39. Gua-Soren Hembrom, Cōṛē.
40. Haṇḍi Murmu, Hembrom.
41. Haṭ Hembrom, Soren.
42. Hembrom-Kūar Cōrē.
43. Hende Baske.
44. Hesel Marṇḍi.
45. Jabe Kisku.
46. Jaher Murmu, Baske.
47. Jhumria Tuḍu
48. Jihu Hāsdak, Murmu, Kisku,
Soren, Baske.
49. Jonok' Marṇḍi.
50. Jugi Hāsdak', Murmu, Marṇḍi,
Soren, Tuḍu.
51. Kada Murmu, Marṇḍi.
52. Kahu Hāsdak', Besra, Cōṛē.
53. Kāṛā Kisku
54. Kāṛā-Gujia Hasdak.
55. Kar-kusa Kisku.
56. Katwa (R) Kisku.
57. Keḍwar Hāsdak', Marṇḍi, Baske.
58. Khanda Marṇḍi, Soren, Besra.
59. Khaṇḍa-Jagao Marṇḍi.
60. Khara Marṇḍi.
61. Kharhara Murmu, Tuḍu.
62. Koṛa Murmu.
63. Koṭha Murmu.
64. Kūāri Hembrom.
65. Kuḍam Murmu, Tuḍu.
66. Kuhi Hāsdak, Baske, Besra.
67. Kulkhi Marṇḍi.

68.	Kunḍa	Häsdak'.
69.	Kuṛhi	Besra.
70.	Laher	Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Tuḍu
71.	Lakin	Marḍi.
72.	Lar	Tuḍu.
73.	Lat'	Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Tuḍu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cöṛë.
74.	Luṛka	Soren.
75.	Mahananda	Häsdak'.
76.	Mahut	Murmu.
77.	Maila.	Soren.
78.	Mal	Soren.
79.	Mañhi-Khil	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marḍi, Soren, Tuḍu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cöṛë.
80.	Mär	Soren.
81.	Miru	Marḍi.
82.	Muṇḍu	Murmu, Soren, Baske, Pauria.
83.	Naeke-Khil	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marḍi, Soren, Tuḍu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cöṛë.
84.	Naeki-Khil Goda	Marḍi.
85.	Ninar	Hembrom.
86.	Oaṛa	Murmu.
87.	Obor	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marḍi, Soren,

		Tuđu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cõřě.
88.	Ok'	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Soren, Tuđu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cõřě.
89.	Patal	Kisku.
90.	Paři	Kisku.
91.	Pitkanda	Häsdak'.
92.	Poar	Murmu.
93.	Poeta	Tuđu.
94.	Ponđ	Murmu, Marndi, Soren.
95.	Petom	Tuđu, Baske, Pauria.
96.	Raj	Kisku.
97.	Rok-Lutur	Häsdak', Kisku, Marndi, Soren, Besra.
98.	Rot'	Marndi.
99.	Rupa	Marndi.
100.	Sada	Häsdak', Murmu, Kisku, Hembrom, Marndi, Soren, Tuđu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Cõřě.
101.	Sada-Cigi	Tuđu.
102.	Sada-Sidup	Soren.
103.	Säk	Häsdak, Soren.
104.	Samak'-San.	Murmu.
105.	Sau	Murmu, Soren.
106.	Sar	Soren.
107.	Sarjom	Murmu.
108.	Saru-Gada	Baske.
109.	Sau	Murmu.
110.	Sidup'	Hembrom, Marndi, Soren,

	Päria.
111. Sindur	Cöřë.
112. Sole	Häsdak', Murmu, Hembrom.
113. Son	Kisku, Soren, Besra.
114. Sokhear	Murmu.
115. Sona	Päuria.
116. Sotear	Murmu.
117. Suře	Baske.
118. Tahijhari	Häsdak'.
119. Thakur	Hembrom, Cöřë.
120. Thunța	Baske.
121. Tika	Murmu, Kisku, Marndi, Soren, Tuđu.
122. Tilok	Murmu, Tuđu, Besra.
123. Turku-Lumam	Murmu, Marndi, Soren.
114. Tuți-Sarjom	Murmu.

TOTAL NUMBER OF KHUTS IN EVERY PARIS,
AS LISTED ABOVE

Häsdak'—23
Murmu—41
Kisku —23
Hembrom—22
Marndi—33
Soren—35
Tuđu—26
Baske—22
Besra—20
Päuria—14
Cöřë—18*

*As the Press was short of the sound-accent ã, ü, ä has been used instead. Editor J.B.O.R.S.

Miscellaneous Articles.

EVOLUTION OF MĀGADHĪ SCRIPT

(With Plate.)

By A. BANERJĪ-SASTRI

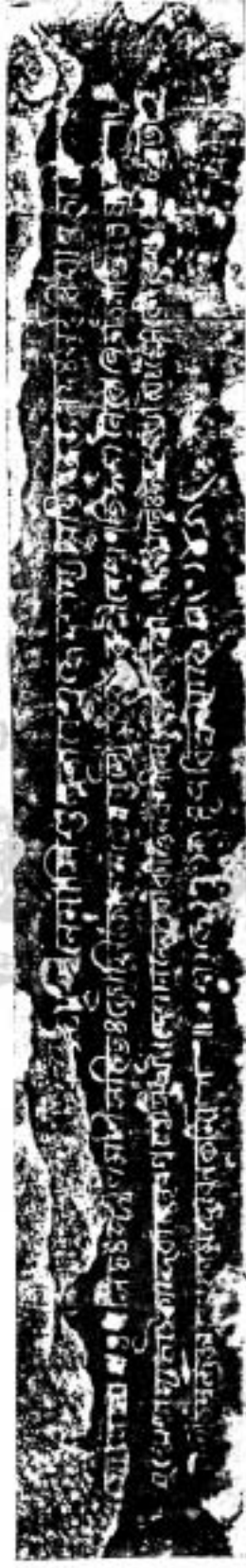
In his Tafel VI Alphabets of Northern MSS. in Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, are shown MSS. ranging from 400 A. D. to 1280 A. D.—Bower MS. 400-500 A. D.; Horiuzi MSS. 500-550 A. D.; Cambridge MS. 846 A. D.; Baksali MS. 800 A. D.; Cambridge MS. 1009 A. D.; Deccan College MSS. 1081 A. D.; Cambridge MS. 1179 A. D.; Cambridge MS. 1198 A. D.; Brit Mus. MS. 1286 A. D.; Bühler's chart leaves a gap of nearly a century between 1198 and 1286 A. D. and it stops at 1286 A. D.

Since Bühler's time fresh materials have come to light abridging the distance in time and carrying the growth forward. In Bihar the evolution of the Māgadhī script can be traced from the XIII to the XV centuries A. D.

(a) On page 10 of Part I of Vol. XXIII of March 1937 of the Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society was reproduced the autograph of Vibhūticandra given at the end of the MS. of Manorathanadin's glossary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Vibhūticandra went from Jagattala in Eastern Bengal to Nepal and thence to the Sa-skyā monastery in Tibet in 1203 A. D.



Autograph of Vibhūtiendra (1303 A.D.)



EARLY XV CENTURY MĀGADHĪ SCRIPT.



Viṣṇupurāṇa MS. written by Paksuṇhara Miśra (1464 A.D.)

(b) In 1938 A. D. the Bihar and Orissa Research Society acquired a MS., the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* on palmleaf 13"×2", 5 line per page, containing 428 leaves. The colophon states that it was transcribed by Pakṣadhara Mīśra in Lakṣmaṇasena era 345 equivalent to 1464 A. D.

(c) In January 1943, was acquired the inscribed piece of stone reproduced in this number. Its exact findspot is not known. The Curator, Patna Museum, informs me that this stone slab was lying for some time at the residence of the Sub-divisional Officer, Bihar Shariff. He presented it to the Patna Museum. The stone is black schist generally found in Bihar. The slab is 4"—9" xi'— $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 5". There are four lines of inscription on one side only, the inscribed space measuring 2'-4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ' × 3/5" × 8". It bears Patna Museum Archaeological No. 10601. These details have been supplied by the Curator, Patna Museum, and the inscription is reproduced here by the kind permission of P. C. Manuk, Esq., President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum.

The inscription is of the usual votive donation type. The last line runs—*Likhitam sūtrakreṇa Kāmadevena karmmiṇā śake 1322 Nṛpavikramārke Sam 1458.*

English Translation :—

Inscribed by the carver Kāmadeva in Śaka era 1322 and in the era of sunlike king Vikrama, Sam. 1458. Śaka 1322=1322+78=1400 A. D.: Sam. 1458—58=1400 A. D. Thus the inscription is written in the Māgadhī script, dated 1400 A. D.

A NOTE ON ROYAL EPISTLES

By B. BHATTACHARYYA

1. Information on the subject is available in two branches of Sanskrit literature, namely, the (1) Sanskrit Drama and the (2) Nīti works.

2. In Sanskrit Drama there are several episodes where with a view to bring about a change in atmosphere letters are introduced and read. Letters introduced in the drama. Amongst these the following instances are noteworthy as showing the methods and channels through which letters were presented to the king.

These are :—

- (1) Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I. (1) The Mantrin comes with a letter from the Vaidarbha King and reads it out to him.

Evidence of Mālavikāgnimitra. Act V. The Kañcukī (chamberlain) presents a document to the king who reads it out.

- (2) Prabodhacandrodaya, Act II. The messenger from Puruṣottama comes directly to the presence of the king and hands over to him a letter which the king reads.

- (3) *Mudrārākṣasa*; Act. II Cāṇakya asks the
 Evidence of *Mudrārākṣasa*. A. D. C. to go to the
 Kāyastha Acala and
 ask him to send a
 particular document. The A. D. C. brings
 it and Cāṇakya asks the king to read it.
- (4) *Hamṃīramadamardana*, Act II. A spy
 Evidence of *Hamṃīramadamardana*. presents directly to
 the king an intercep-
 ted letter which the
 king reads himself.
- (5) *Mahāvīracarita* Act II. The A. D. C.
 Evidence of *Mahāvīracarita*. informs the minister
 that the messenger
 sent to Paraśurāma
 had brought a letter from him. The
 minister takes this letter and reads.
- (6) *Mohaparājaya* Act, IV, p. 82 A Police officer
 Evidence of *Mohaparājaya*. detects a person car-
 ying a secret letter.
 He takes the man
 with the letter to the king who reads the
 letter and orders his imprisonment.
3. From the above it becomes quite clear that
 there used to be an officer (Kāyastha) in the
 Palace who kept all varie-
 ties of documents in his
 charge. The *Mudrārāk-
 ṣasa* also makes it evident that the Amātya or
 the Prime Minister was always conversant with
 the contents of these documents, and brought
 the important ones to the notice of the king.

4. Spies and others having important information to convey could approach the king directly, and present secret or intercepted letters directly to the king without these being examined by others beforehand.
- Letters of spies and others.
5. From the *ukranīti*, the following relevant quotations are available.
- Quotations from *Sukranīti*.

(1) कार्यान्तरस्याकुलत्वात् सम्यग्द्रष्टुं न शक्यते ।
युवराजादिभिलेख्यं तदनेन च दर्शितम् ॥
अध्याय २, श्लो० ३६८ ।

"As it is not possible for the king to see fully all details owing to pressure of work, the documents to be examined by advisors. Documents are generally to be examined by the Crown Prince and other advisors".

(२) समुद्रं विलिखेयुर्वै सर्वे मन्त्रिगणास्ततः ।
राजा दृष्टमिति लिखेत् द्राक् सम्यग्दर्शनाच्चमः ॥
अध्याय २, श्लो० ३६९ ।

'The advisors should sign and affix their seals and the king should at once write 'seen' where he is not in a position to examine it thoroughly."

In case of hurried examination.

(३) राजा स्वलेख्यचिह्नं तु यथाभिलषितं तथा ।
लेखानुपूर्वं कुर्याद्वि दृष्ट्वा लेख्यं विचार्य च ॥
अध्याय २, श्लो० ३६२ ।

"The king should see the document and after considering the contents should put in his signature wherever he likes."

-Affixing
signature.

(४) अङ्गीकृतमिति लिखेत् मुद्रयेच्च ततो नृपः ।

अध्याय २, श्लो० ३६७ ।

"The king should then write, 'It is accepted' and later affix the seal."

6. These quotations make it evident that the king, due to his multifarious engagements, is not in a position to look into any correspondence except the very important

Summing up.

ones. When, however, any document is seen by him hurriedly he is expected to write "seen," but when he considers a case he may write "accepted". On any miscellaneous document read carefully by him he may put in his signature wherever he likes.

7. From the evidence of the Śukranīti it appears probable that the Crown Prince and other ad-

visors used to be in charge

Conclusion.

of the royal correspondence, and they were expected to find out which of the documents were worth placing before the king and were worthy of his attention.

MOHENJO DARO AND BACTRIA

By A. P. KARMARKAR

While examining the coins of the Kushano-Sasanian period, I came across various representations of Śiva and the bull or Nandi. They possess a close resemblance to those obtaining on the seals discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, and other proto-Indian sites. Bactria or Bactriana, which is more popularly known as Bālhika, Bālhika, Vāhika or Bāhika in ancient Indian literature, 'is an ancient country of Central Asia, lying to the south of the river Oxus, and reaching to the western part of the Paropmisan range or Hindu Kush. Balkh, the 'Mother of cities', was once the seat of the Zoroastrian religion, and the great Prophet is said to have died within the precincts of its walls. Even much more interesting is the fact, that, it is connected with the most important movements of the Indo-European races. It was a great cultural centre, and at one time the rival of Ecbatana, Nineveh and Babylon. The country was under the suzerainty of many Dynasties since the time of Medes. Further the country has been referred to by Yuan Chwang, the various Arabian travellers, Marco Polo and others. It is a place of great Archaeological interest. Besides the monetary legends, several Bactrian inscriptions have been recently discovered, among the most important of

which are the 'Taxila' copper-plates which have furnished to the key of the Bactrian numerical system. Further the Peshawar vase, the Mānikyala Cylinder, the Bimaran vase, and the Vardak are of absorbing interest.¹

Both the data in connection with the Kushano-Sasanian coins and the early references in ancient Indian literature respectively make us strongly believe that the Bālīhikas had adopted the religion of the Mohenjo Daris in those hoary times. The problem becomes much more interesting when we come to know that the Aryan immigrants had made it their residential centre at one time. And if the Aryans treated the Bālīhikas with scant courtesy, it would naturally follow that the Bālīhikas were non-Aryans. Added to this we find that the Bālīhikas were worshippers of Rudra-Śiva since the ancient times (*cf. infra*).

It is proposed here to deal with the various problems arising out of the main issue of the Kushano-Sasanian coins or those of the Sasanian prince-governors of Bactria, who bore the title *vuzurg Kushan Shah* or *Shahan-shah*.

THE BĀLHĪKAS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

The Bālīhikas are referred to for the first time in the Atharvaveda as a non-Aryan tribe. Therein the fever Takman is asked to go away to the region of th Bālīhikas, Mūjavants and Mahāvṛṣas. The exact stanza is as follows :—

"Go Takman, to the Mūjavats, or far away to the Bālīhikas. .passing (us) by, O friend, devour

1 *cf. Encyclo. Britannica*, under *Bactria* and *Balkh*,

the Mahāvṛṣas and the Mūjavats. We point out to Takman these and those alien regions.

"Takman, along with thy brother Balāṣa, with thy sister Kusika and with thy nephew Papman depart to that foreign people".¹

Thus it becomes absolutely clear that the Mūjavats, the Mahāvṛṣas and the Bālīhikas were non-Aryan people, against whom Takman with his brother is wished away. It is significant to note here that the Bālīhikas are spoken of as being located beyond the country of the Mūjavats.

The Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇas suggest that the mountain where Rudra resided and wandered about was the Mūjavat.² The Mūjavats as a people are referred to in the Rgveda.³ Moreover, Takman and other diseases, with the aid of which Rudra slew the people, are 'said to have been born in the land of the Mūjavats and the Mahāvṛṣas and sojourned among the Bālīhikas'.

The next important reference regarding the Bālīhikas is made in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It describes that 'Agni is declared to be the gentle name of Rudra whom the Eastern people call Śarva and the Bālīhikas Bhava and Paśūnāmpati, Lord of cattle. All these names except Agni, are said to be ungentle'.⁴

Best of all the Mahābhārata refers to the Bālīhikas or Vāhikas or Bāhikas. It uses these three

1 *Atharvaveda*, v. 22.5.7.8.12.

2 *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, 3.6; *Taittirya Sam.* 1.8.6.2.

3 *Rv.* 10.31.1.

4 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.7.3.8.

expressions denoting the same people. It described the country of the Vāhikas thus :

"There were the forest of the Bilus and the five rivers Śatadru, Vipāsā, Īrāvātī, Candrabhāgā. and Vitastā and which have the Sindhu as their sixth flow, there, in those regions is situated the province, called the Āraṭṭas distant from the Himavanta. The celestial, the ancestral manes and Brāhmaṇas never accept gifts from fallen persons (Vratya), from those that are begotten by Śūdras upon women of other castes and from Vāhikas who never perform Yajñas".¹

Pāṇini², the early Buddhist texts, and other allied literature make a mention of the country of the Vāhikas.

Thus the Bālīhikas, who were located in a narrower part during the period of the Atharvaveda, seem to have enlarged their dominions later on and occupied the whole of the Indus Valley region. But it should be noted in this connection, that the early peoples of the Mohenjo Daro region were already wiped off from the scene, when the Bālīhikas were reigning supreme in the territory.

THE KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINS³

We have already observed how the Bālīhikas were worshipping Rudra during the period of the Brāhmaṇas and perhaps before. The representations on the Kushano-Sasanian coins act only as a step further to show that Rudra-Śiva still held

¹ *Mahābhārata Karna Parva*, Adh. 37. Vers 44-46.

² *Pāṇini*, V. 3.114.

³ cf. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38, 'Kushano-Sasanian Coins.'

his sway during a far later period also, *i.e.* c.230-438 A. D.

The coins contain various representations of Śiva and the Bull in different poses. Coin 7b. contains the image of the hump-backed Bull with the three-faced figure of Śiva standing in front of it. Śiva is holding the rope in his right hand, and a trident in his left. 9a. consists of a similar representation, the Trisūla borne in the hand being represented in a more clear and vivid manner. 9b. and 15c. have the representations of Śiva with one face. In 15 c. Śiva is dressed in the same fashion as that of the Sasanian Governors. 15a. contains the three-faced figure of Śiva. In 15b. is shown the three-faced figure of Śiva with the trident of the Mohenjo Daro type placed on his head. It is also worth noting that a bunch of flowers is shown as arising from the middle of the two horn-like prongs. 19b. consists of a figure of Śiva with only one head face.

The kings also are represented as bearing the tridents on their heads. 31d. consists of the figure of the king bearing on his head the two prongs of the trident and a bud placed in between. In 38 the trident consists of the two prongs joined together with a bud placed in between, but having no contact with the prongs themselves. Coin 39 contains a complete crescent, and the bud or bunch of flowers is deleted altogether.

THE MOHENJO DARO REPRESENTATIONS

The representations of Śiva, the bull and the trident on the Kushano-Sasanian coins become much more attractive when we find that they look as

mere reminiscences of the old Mohenjo Daro types. One of the Mohenjo Daro seals depict the three-faced figure of Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva, seated in a Yogic posture, and with a trident placed on his head.¹ Sometimes the three prongs are shown and at others a bunch of flowers is represented as issuing from the two prongs situated on either sides. Sir John Marshall described the above trident as a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress.² Mackey, while commenting on one of these representations calls it as 'of two horn-like objects between which there appears to be a spike of flowers'.³ But Father Heras rightly observes that all these are the representations of the trident placed over the head of Śiva.⁴ The tradition of placing the trident on the head is of long duration in ancient India. The images of Āyanar,⁵ and Muttyālamma⁶ at Avani bear, on their heads the trident *e.g.* the two prongs with the bunch of flowers issuing from the same. Best of all the Śaṅkara-digvijaya relates that the Jaṅgamas used to bear the trident on their heads.⁷

1 cf. Heras, 'the Plastic representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians', *Sar. Com. Vol.* p. 224. Marshall, Vol. 12, pp. 12, No. 17.

2 Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, p. 52.

3 Mackay, *Further Excavations*, I, p. 335.

4 Heras, 'Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro', *New Review* January, 1939, pp. 66 ff.

5 Jouveau Dubreuil, *iconography of Southern India*, p. 113.

6 Krishna Sastri, *Images of South Indian God and Goddesses*. Fig 138, p. 225.

7 Moiner Williams, *Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism*, p. 86.

KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINS AND MOHENJO DARO

Thus what appears on the Kushano-Sasanian coins is nothing but the later development of the old representations obtaining on the seals of the Mohenjo Daro period. The three-faced figure of Śiva on the Mohenjo Daro seals clearly points out how the images of Maheśa-mūrti existing at Elephanta and at other places in India owe their origin to the above. The idea of the Hindu Trinity consisting of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, or, that of Dattatreya must be evidently of a later time. That the three-faced figure originally denoted Śiva is also corroborated by its appearance on the Kushano-Sasanian coins. It is worth noting that Bactria is a country of pre-Vedic origin and it has remained absolutely unaffected by the later Hinduism as it developed in India.

The representation of Śiva with the bull probably reminds us of the close association of the Bālīhikas and the Mahāvṛśas (which means literally 'a big hump-backed bull') in the Vedic period. The Mūjavats, the Mahāvṛśas and the Bālīhikas were people who were closely connected with each other. Eventually the Bull must have played a significant role in the cult of the Mahāvṛśas. As the Bālīhikas as a nation were nearer to that of the Mahāvṛśas, they must have joined together these two, namely, Āṇ-Śiva and the Bull. As Father Heras has suggested, the Pallavas, who were of Parthian origin, and the Kushana Emperors must have been responsible in spreading such figures through the whole of India later on.

The Kushano-Sasanian coins prove beyond doubt another factor, namely, how the so-called head gear of Āṇ-Śiva must have developed itself into the Crescent placed over the head of Śiva in the later period. Then development must have taken place as follows. First with the three prongs; next with two prongs and a bunch of flowers issuing out of them in the middle; thirdly, with a bud issuing out of them, but placed in bifurcated position; and finally, a complete crescent, with a natural deletion of the bunch of flowers or the bud.

BACTRIA AND MOHENJO DARO

That the bactrians or Bālhikas and the Mohenjo Darians were two different peoples belonging to two different countries originally is very well proved by the fact that the Matsyas, who are the same as the Mīnas of Mohenjo Daro and the Bālhikas are referred to, as being located in separate provinces, in the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda respectively. The Bālhikas evidently resided in a province beyond the Hindu Kush. Eventually the reference in the Mahābhārata in regard to the occupation of a vaster dominion by the Vāhikas should really point to a later period than that of the Vedas.

The Atharvaveda clearly points out that the Bālhikas were a non-Aryan people. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa indicates that they were the worshippers of Rudra in his Bhava and Paśupati forms. The Kushano-Sasanian coins have given us a further clue, namely, that the Bālhikas must have adopted the religion of the Mohenjo Darians far back in the pre-Aryan period—the representations on the coins

themselves acting as reminiscences of the older civilisation.

If this be so, then all the above data may bring us to another conclusion, that Bactria must have adopted the religion of the Mohenjo Daris probably even long before the Aryans settled themselves down during the Indo-Iranian period. Thus, is it possible that the Aryans must have begun to adopt and assimilate many of the customs and manners of the Dravidian even from the time of their soujourn in the country of the Bālbikas ?



HISTORY OF THE CHAUHĀNS
FROM THE JAYACHANDRIKĀ
OF PRAHALLĀD DUBEY.

By P. C. RATH

Last year through the courtesy of the Sārangarh Darbar, the Archæology Department, Patna State got a manuscript copy of Jayachandrikā. Here I use that manuscript.

This book was first utilised by Mr. C. U. Wills, while writing his article "The Rajput kingdom of Mediæval Chhattisgarh". J. A. S., Bengal 1919, P. 197—262.

He has admitted that a translation of the original work was supplied to him by R. B. Hirālāl. But it is not known which manuscript copy R. B. Hirālāl did use. Pt. L. P. Pandaya Sharma, the Honorary Secretary, Mahakoshala Historical Society has utilised the Sārangarh manuscript in his articles in I. H. Q. Vol. V, P. 341—47 and VIII, P. 618—623. Thus the existence of only one copy of this book is yet known and that is the Sārangarh copy.

Though the language of this book is the Rajasthanī dialect of Hindi called Dingal usually used in Rāsos, it is much influenced by Lariā, the dialect of Chhattisgarh. There is a splinkling of Oriyā words also.

The book is called a Kāvya by the author. It is divided into seven cantos and each canto is a

collection poems in the well-known *Rāso Chhandas*, like *Chaupāi*, *Troṭaka*, *Sobia*, *Gitikā*, *Tomara*, *Sorathā*, etc. There are many *Dohās* and *Kabits* also.

Mr. Wills has quoted couplets and has tried to assign meaning to them which, however, when interpreted with reference of the context would give a different meaning. Brief summaries of these cantos and historical implication of important couplets are discussed below.—

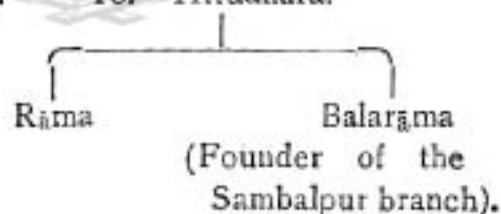
Canto I begins with obeisance to *Gaṇeśā* and *Samaleviārī*. The poet narrates the achievements of *Prithvirāj*, and says that *Prithvirāj* was a *Gadasambarī Chauhān* and was the lord of a great number of kings and had a vast army. *Prithvirāj*, was defeated by the followers of Allah and most of the *Chauhāns* fought and died. The remaining *Gadasambarī Chauhāns* accompanied an ancient princess and came to Patna for safety where she took shelter in the house of *Chakradhara Pāṇigrāhī*. She gave birth to a boy whose name was kept *Ramāi*. While *Ramāi* was twelve years old he was tending the sheep of the *Pāṇigrāhī*. One day when he was sleeping under a tree a cobra came and shaded his face with its hood. This gave impression to *Chakradhar Pāṇigrāhī* that *Ramāi* would be a great man in future. After this proper education and military training was given to *Rāmāi*.

At that time a golden lemon was considered to be the king of Patna. There were eight representatives of the people who were called *Mullicks*

and they ruled Patna with the Pānigrāhī mentioned above as their head, holding this lemon. Each of the Mullicks exercised supreme power in turn. Once when the turn of Chakradhar Pānigrāhī came, he being ill, sent Ramāi to act as his representative. Ramāi becoming Ruler called the seven other Mullicks and killed them.

From that day Ramāi ruled Patna without any trouble. The poet describes Ramāi as a Chauhān of Sūrya Vamśa and of the family of Rāma. The chapter concludes with a description of the descendants of Ramāi, who were Maharajas of Patna. The Genealogy is shown below, in a tabular form.—

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Ramāi Dev. | 6. Pratāpamalla. |
| 2. Mahalinga Dev. | 7. Bhupāla Dev. |
| 3. Baisal Dev. | 8. Vikramā Jit. |
| 4. Bhojarāj Dev. | 9. Baisal Dev. |
| 5. Vikrama Dev. | 10. Hiradhara. |



Canto II.—Rāma Dev was the Tikāyat and Balarāma Dev was the Pattāyat. One day being pleased with some service rendered by Balarāma Dev his elder brother offered him a boon. Balarāmā asked for Huma Desh, near Chitrotpala (Mahānadi). The mother of both the brothers sat inside the river Brahmini (Aung) and made both take the oath that one whose descendants would cross the

river would commit incest. Balarama at first established his capital at Chaurpur and later on shifted it to Sambalpur.

Then the poet proceeds with his description of Sambalpur and says that even fort Chitor could not be compared with it.

Including Sārangarh there were eighteen garhs under Balarama. The Umrao of Sārangarh was the Chief Umrao and the Umraos of the rest seventeen garhs were considered inferior to him.

Canto III.—Here the poet gives the names of the descendants of Balarama Dev, who were Mahārājas of Sambalpur as follows.—

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Balarama Deo. | 6. Ratan Singh. |
| 2. Hridayanarayana Deo. | 7. Chhatra Sai. |
| 3. Balabhadra Sai. | 8. Ajit Singh. |
| 4. Madhukar Sai. | 9. Abhaya Singh. |
| 5. Baliar Singh. | |

Balabhadra Sai attacked Baud with sixteen of his feudatories. The seventeen garhs, Sambalpur being one of them, attacked Baud ninety-four times within 12 years. At last Sārangarh the 18th, garh was sent for. Bhikha Rai, the ruler of Sārangarh, reduced the fort first and then met Balabhadra Sai, who bestowed on him the title of Dewan.

During the reign of Chhatra Sai the army mutinied. Chhatra Sai went to Sārangarh with his son Ajit Singh. With the help of Dewan Udyot Sai of Sārangarh he regained authority over the capital.

During the reign of Ajit Singh Akbar Rai became Dewan of Sambalpur. When Abhaya

Singh became king Akbar became more powerful. He did not allow either the subjects or the Zamin-dars to meet the king. Abhaya Singh realised this and called his brother Jayant Singh and half-brother Padman Singh, the son of his father through a maid-servant and told them that the Dewan has usurped all his powers. So he requested them to rebel against Akbar and if their rebellion fails then at least one of them to go outside Sambalpur territory, to maintain the line.

Canto IV.—The mother of Abhaya Singh tried to improve matters for her son but she was murdered by Akbar. After this incident Abhaya Singh met a premature death soon brooding over his fate. Abhaya Singh died without any issue and the rightful claimant to the throne was Jayant Singh who is also called Jayat Singh and Jait Singh. Akbar Rai in order to maintain his influence made one Balabhadra Sai a mere child of six a distant collateral, sit on the throne.

Visvanath Sai of Sārangarh asked Akbar Rai to place Padman Singh on the throne as an interim arrangement and invite Jayant to occupy the throne. But Akbar Rai thought that as the rest 17 garhs were under his control he can afford to neglect the words of Biswanāth Sai, the master of only one garh.

Jayat Singh during the later part of his exile was serving at Gadmandala. He being informed by Viśvanāth Sai about this state of affairs proceeded to Sambalpur. He halted at Khayaragarh, Podadaha, Rampur, Surguja and Jaspur on the way. At

Jaspur Biswanāth Sai met him and welcomed him to Sārangarh.

From Sārangarh Jayant Singh sent words to the 36 garhs of which Patna was one and to the seventeen garhs individually and waited there for two months. Then he proceeded towards Sambalpur.

Canto V.—Hearing of Jayant Singh's advance Akbar Rai sent his men to create trouble at Sārangarh and sent words to Viśvanāth Sai to deliver Jayant Singh into his hands. In spite of these things Jayant Singh proceeded towards Sambalpur.

Canto VI.—The Sonepur Chief is always called Mah pātra in this Kavya. The then Mahāpātra was playing a double game. He sent words to Chimanāji, a Marahattā Subedar to come and defeat Akbar Rai and place him (Mahāpātrā) on the throne. Hearing this Chimanāji came with an army to Sonepur. Chimanāji proceeded towards Sambalpur and camped at Ramudā.

Akbar was frightened at this turn of events. He consulted the army and the citizens and both gave their verdict in favour of Jayant Singh. So he decided to meet Jayant Singh with some presents and receive him into the capital. The Mahāpātra had acted as the mediator between Akbar Rai and Jayant Singh. Chimanāji was not allowed to enter Sambalpur. Mahāpātra tried to get the entrance of Chimanāji and his army by stealth, but he was closely guarded. Viśvanāth Sai was left outside when Jayant Singh entered the capital to deal with the Marahattās. When they found Viśvanāth Sai determined to fight, they took to flight. Chimanāji

halted at Chawarpur abusing the Mahāpātra to be the root of all these unnecessary troubles.

The coronation of Jayant Singh was celebrated on S. 1838, Jāyestha, Śukla Dvādāśī Ravivāra, Svātī Nakṣatra, Parigha Yoga with due pomp. Chimanā was given some money.

Canto VII.—Chimanā went away to Chandā. Akbar Rai in fear did not attend the Darbar but sent his son. But at last his attendance was secured and he was killed and his family members made captive. The Mahāpātra fled to Sonapur in fear.

Jayant Singh then rewarded his followers and later on attacked Sonapur. The Mahāpātra submitted and prayed to be pardoned.

APPENDIX.

The first Chauhan is described as the four handed, Yajurved, Batchhasa Gotri, Rāma Amsi, Surya Vamśī hero. In the Gadasambari branch of that family was born Mahārājādhirāja Jayant Singh. Then his forefathers are mentioned beginning with Ramāi Deo. The book ends with a verse describing Jayant Singh as the receptacle of all good qualities and of huge body.

In Canto VI it is mentioned that the coronation of Jayant Singh was held in Sāmvat 1838, *i. e.* 1780-81 A. D. The evidence of the poet, so far facts near about this year are concerned might safely be taken as reliable, as the poet was himself describing contemporary events. Mr. Wills also says "this testimony is unimpeachable. It was prepared by a local poet for a public occasion and must be conclusive evidence on the point at issue".

At the end of each canto the poet says

“इति श्री कोशलेश्वर चौहान चकतव जैतसिंघ मुजसचन्द्र
चन्द्रीकायां॥॥॥॥”

Thus the poet considered even in the 18th century Sambalpur to be a part of Koshala and the Mahārāja of Sambalpur was also styled Koshaleswara.

The term *Aṣṭādasa Gada* (*Atharagada*) is frequently used in this book and the use of another term “Garh Chhatis” is also noteworthy.

“॥॥॥सीधपीठ सुभसहर वसे कोशलके मामे येहभाती तखत
ग्रहलाद भन चौहान मुपनह । मुख्यमान दुर्ग सारंगहैसु
अरदारदस उमराउमह ॥”

Canto II

The lines quoted above clearly mention Sārangarh as the Chief Umrao among the Umraos of 18 garhs. Further in Canto IV when Viśvanāth Sai of Sārangarh goes to meet Jayant Singh in Jaspur, the reply given to him by Jayant is very significant. Jayant Singh says:—

अठारहगढ़ मेल, कीतु महीलुहे अकेल ॥

Then Viśvanth replies:—

कहे विश्वनाथ मुझार, हम येकुइ अगुसार ॥

Canto IV

These clearly prove that these garhs were States like Sārangarh. After this we find mention of seventeen garhs only as Sārangarh joins Jayant Singh. This is further corroborated by

अकबर गर्वइहे रखो गढ़ सत्रह भमहाय ।

क्या मो पै अबकरी सके एक साही विश्वनाथ ॥

Canto IV

The poet describes in Canto IV that before Jayat Singh left Mandalā, Viśvanāth Sai had taken steps to further Jayant Singh's cause. He had promised to pay Bimbāji one lakh for his help and made him write to Bengal, Chandā and Mandalā. The Chief of Sārangarh himself had written to the countries between Patna and Bamra for help."

“इत पाटन उत्त वमडा देसु ।
कें ह्यो गढ़ सारंग नरेसु ॥

The seventeen garhs promised to help Sārangarh :—

सत्रहगढ़ देसी उमराउ ।
दये ताल मही दुंदुजदाउ ॥

Canto IV

Then the Sārangarh Chief writes to Jayant Singh to start. But as the seventeen garhs did not come he informs Jayant Singh that he alone has come forward to help him.

Gopināth Sarangi, the author of Chikistsā Mañjarī also mentions these eighteen garhs.

“अठर गढ तेर दसहपाट ।
बतिस सहस्र बलसुराट ॥

He was court physician of Chhatra Sai, the seventh Mahārāja of Sambalpur and the book was written in the last part of 17th century. So we get unimpeachable proof of a cluster of eighteen states including Sambalpur being known as Athargarh of Sambalpur in 17th and 18th century. Besides that the writer of Jayachandrika says that Balabhadra Sai had eighteen garhs under him.

‘गढ़ सत्रेहोउ मिले चढ़नी कीयो चौहानवें ।
गढ़ बीकठ वाके चौदको सरभये उनाही नोदानवै ॥’

Canto III

The above couplet shows that he attacked Baud with 17 garhs. But as he failed to take the fort he called for Bhikha Rai of Sārangarh the 18th garh.

‘तव रहैं धमधा भीखराये, रीसाये सारंग गढ़े सुकें ॥
गलावने कह मत्रीया, बलीभद्र साये, नरें कैं ॥’

Canto III

In the Navayuga Vol. II, Part 7, P. 312—21 and part 9 P. 410—17 Mr. Shiva Prasad Das says that Balarāma Deo conquered 18 garhs and made himself master of those garhs. The author of Jayachandrika also corroborates this fact when describing Sambalpur of Balarāma Deo. He says :—

‘अष्टादसगढ़ सोवाकरइ, दंडपाट तेरह अनुसरइ ॥’

Canto II

Thus it appears that since the day of Balarāma Deo, the founder of Sambalpur, 17 States were connected with Sambalpur and with Sambalpur were known as 18 garhs.

But unfortunately there is no contemporary evidence to show the names of these 18 garhs.

Though the author of Jayachandrika helps us to some extent in giving the names of Sārangarh, Surguja, Jaspur and Chandrapur as members of these 18 garhs, he confronts us with another problem in the lines given below.

सारंगगढ़ पयठा भये सवमीली इकमंत्रें ठये ॥
 बीस्वनाथ साये नरे सवे लीखे । सोर पुन सवको दये ॥
 पटनादो गढ़ छलीस मे । लीखी पत्रीका चहु दीस मे ॥
 खड्डुगार कीन्हो दर्व को । पुन तुमे कोसासर्व को ॥
 गढ़ सतरयो उमरावये । गही रहो दुदज दावये ॥
 सब ठगे चातइ बात में । रखीओ कहु बैर आतमे ॥

Canto IV

This clearly shows that Patna was not a member of the Sambalpur Athargarh but it was a member of a confederacy of 36 garhs of which Patna was one and this does not mean Patna and Chhattisgarh as interpreted to Mr. Wills by R. B. Hirālāl.

Viśvanath Sai, as mentioned before had obtained the promise of help of the 17 garhs before Jayant Singh had left Mandala and now when Jayant Singh had come he asks them again to be frank in their allegiance. But as none of them came to Sārangarh the accusations mentioned below were poured on them,

गढ़ सत्रह केउ नहीं आये । नीमक छोड़ो अकबर को भये ॥
 पुनर भुप होना अविश्वास-लागे । दवे सत्रह दुर्ग देवान आगे ॥

Canto IV

All these clearly point out to the 17 garhs or States of Sambalpur. But the relation of Patna to the confederacy of 36 States requires amplification.

The poet has not mentioned Patna as the head of 36 States but of all these 36 States the mention of Patna only suggests that it was the most prominent of them. This statement is of additional

importance as it is made in a book commemorating the coronation of a Maharaja of Sambalpur.

The rebellion of the army against Chattra Sai and the help rendered to him by Udotā Sai and the part played by Viśvanāth Sai in the accession of Jayant Singh are each supported by independent inscriptorial evidences. There are two copper plate grants mentioning these facts in details.

(1) These plates are in the possession of Sārangarh Darbar.

The part played by the Marahattas is noteworthy. Bimbaji pledged to help Viśvanāth Sai in other words Jayant Singh for one lakh and Chimanāji promised to espouse the cause of the Mahāpātra of Sonpur and did actually proceed with an army to Sambalpur. They played the part of soldiers of fortune and helped the highest bidder. Nothing in the book suggests their sovereignty over Sambalpur or the 17 garhs of Sambalpur or the 35 garhs of Patna.

As pointed out before the poet describes events near about 1781 as a contemporary. Mr. Mottee came in 1766 and has left an account. Mr. Mottee said that Sonpur was under the influence of Janojee, Jayachandrik also shows that Sonpur was under Marahattā influence. Rather it would be more correct to say that Sonpur was trying to gain influence with Marahattā help.

(2) "Patna, which means in the old Hindu language what we call caravanserai, or a place of

(1) Nawayuga Vo. I 2nd, issue P. 49—53. Vo. I 5th issue P. 194—96 Asiatic Society Register 1799 P. 48-84.

reception of travellers, is now so changed that the people will not suffer a stranger to enter the country and when the Marahattās have attempted to do so ; they have always been murdered." The condition described by Motte remained the same at the time when Prahallād Dubey wrote his book. The Marahattās were not allowed entrance into Sambalpur fort.

Thus Sambalpur was also free from Marahattā influence in the political field



TWO GARUḌA IMAGES IN MATHURĀ MUSEUM

By M. M. NAGAR

In his learned article on Garuḍa published in the pages of the Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December 1941, Dr. Walter Ruban of Ankara (Turkey) has discussed in great details the complicated history and the widely prevalent cult of this mythical bird as known from the earliest available literatures of India, Persia, Arabia, Babylonia, Egypt, China and other civilized countries of the past and has contended therein that although his conception as a good and bad bird of prey existed very much the same everywhere the Indian testimonials regarding him are the oldest ones¹. Since I read this article I have acquired two unique images of Garuḍa which on account of their striking iconographic peculiarities and admixture of certain foreign conceptions, deserve special attention. These sculptures were found in the district of Muttra (ancient *Vraja* or *S'ārasena*) and are now exhibited in the local Archaeological Museum there. They belong to Kushana period, the Golden Age in the history of Muttra, and are made of the usual spotted red sand-stone of Fatehpur-Sikri. They are :—

1 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVII, Pt. IV. pp. 485-520.

1. Torso (No. 2889 ; ht. 3'-9", Pl. I) of a male figure standing *en face*. Head and legs below the shin missing. The right hand which is now lost, was raised to the level of the shoulder in *Abhaya-mudrā* while the left which is placed akimbo, presses a pair of snakes. The upper part of the body is bare except for a torque (*graiveyaka*) and a flat necklace. The lower part is adorned with a *dhotī* fastened round the loins by means of a double flat belt (*kāyabandha*). A scarf (*uttarīya*) thrown over the left shoulder, passes round the right leg beneath the knee. The image in all probability represents Garuḍa whose traditional animosity with the serpent (Nāga) is delineated here by the former pressing the latter. It is of immense iconographic importance, apart from its being the earliest anthropomorphic representation of this deity so far known to the Archaeological world, it evinces an admixture of foreign conception which corresponds with the Egyptian idea of the winged Sun carrying two snakes in his hand and reminding one of the enmity of Garuḍa against the Nāgas¹.

2. Sculpture (No. 2915 ; ht. 2'-6", Pl. II), carved in the round, showing a Garuḍa in flight carrying off a female figure from the back of whose neck rises a long snake. The features of the *nāgī* are distorted with pain on account of the eagle tearing at the serpent with his beak. The bird itself wears an ornamental head-dress and large

¹ Op. Cit. p. 486.

Cp. In R̥gveda the Sun is sometimes called *Suparna* or *Garutmat* which are both the later names of Garuḍa. *Suparna* as the name of Sun is also to be found in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*).

circular earrings (*kuṇḍalas*). There is little doubt that the theme delineated here is an Indian adaptation of the Ganymede being carried off by the Eagle of Zeus—a famous work of the Greek sculptor Leochares who flourished in c. 4th cent. B. C.¹ The sculpture being the first of its kind so far known in Mathurā Art, is unique; but several specimens bearing much less the same representation, have come to light from Gandhāra². Of these the earliest known example, is the sculpture from Sanghao (Distt. Yusufzai—N. W. F. P.) which has so often been reproduced and described but which unfortunately is now lost³. Here the subject is treated in much the same fashion as in the Mathurā sculpture—the only difference being that in the former the eagle holds the nagī with his talons also, while in the latter she is only seized by the snake issuing from her neck. Another specimen very much similar to one recovered from Sanghao, hails from Peshawar and is now exhibited in the Provincial Museum there⁴. These sculptures, according to Dr. Vogel, obviously imitating ornaments made of gold and silver, must have originally belonged to the headdress of those figures in princely attire which represent Bodhisattvas⁵. But the Mathurā Museum sculpture (P. II) could not have been used for this purpose as is evident from

1. Vogel : Indian Serpent Lore, p. 172.

2. Op. Cit. p. 172.

3. Op. Cit. p. 172.

Grünwedel : Buddhist Art in India, p. 109, fig. 6.

4. Vogel : Op. Cit. p. 172, Pl. XV, Fig. (a).

5. Op. Cit. p. 172.

its large dimension and great bulk. It seems to have stood as a decorative piece of sculpture having derived its subject-matter from the famous sculpture of Leochares to which the skilful artisans of Mathurâ took a fancy for under the strong influence of the neighbouring Greeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhâra and adapted it according to the local needs and traditions.

Garuḍa, the chief of the birds and the Vehicle of *Viṣṇu*, is a mythical kite whose cult came into existence in and around Mathurâ in the early centuries of our era along with the cult of the snakes. He is said to have descended from *kāśyapa* and *Vinatā*, one of the daughters of *Dakṣa Parjāpati*. According to mythology he is the great enemy of serpents (*nāgas*) having inherited his hatred from his mother who had quarrelled with her co-wife *Kadrū*, the mother of serpents. This hereditary feud between Garuḍa and the *nāgas* was a favourite subject of the Indian poets and artists alike and its representation in plastic art are freely met with on the reliefs of Gandhâra, Mathura and Amarâvatī. But in all these sculptures the main point of interest to note is that unlike sculpture No. 1 (P. I) the eagle is invariably treated theriomorphically¹. According to *Sādhanās* this mythical bird should be represented in sculpture as a powerfully built man with two wings and having some bird-like features in the face such as an aquiline nose and round eyes. He should be kneeling on

1. Op. Cit. p. 172.

the right knee and with the hands folded in adoration¹. He should have the golden yellow colour from the feet to the knees and a flabby belly.² But a comparison of these with the above-mentioned image shows that the latter does not conform with the former even fundamentally. Nor does it resemble in any way with the other available images of Garuḍa. The reason for this difference is that our sculpture belongs to a formative or creative period of Indian art when the iconographic forms of the deities being still in the making, were not fully evolved and standardised. It will be interesting to note here that like most of the Brahmanical deities of this age the first iconographic form of Garuḍa was also derived from the early Bodhisattva sculptures of Mathurā school. This is evident from the fact that the image under review is so similar to a free standing Kushana Bodhisattva image that but for the two snakes in the left hand—the only emblem which helps us in determining its proposed identification—it could easily have been mistaken for the same.

1. Bhaṭṭasāli: Catalogue of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, pp. 107-108.

2. Rao. T. A. Gopinath: Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 285-286.

Reviews and Notices of Books

MUNDA DURANG. A MUNDA SONG BOOK. A collection of 1641 Munda Songs Collected by W. G. Archer. Edited by Dilbar Hans and Samuel Hans, with a Preface by W. G. Archer. Printed at the United Press Limited, Patna. Price Rs. 5. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. i-ii. 1—520.

In his Preface to *Santal Folk Tales* edited by P. O. Bodding and published by the Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning in Oslo 1925, Sten Konow remarked—" * it is to be feared that Santali will some day cease to be a living language. Even at the present time most Santals are bilingual, and the Aryan influence will certainly make itself still more felt in future. " Both the *Tales* and the *Dictionary* of Bodding bear testimony to the finding that in folklore as in civilization generally property is not only inherited but also acquired. Genuine traditional Santali Folk tales in Bodding's selections show traces of Aryan sources in motif as well as expression. But these tales are yet true to type as they have been adapted to Santal mentality. Santali is the most important of all the Munda languages. In 1906, about 57 per cent. of all Mundas were returned under that form of speech. The total number of speakers then was about $1\frac{3}{4}$ million of people.¹

¹ Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian Languages, p. 30.

Another member of this important Munda family, the Baiga, attracted early attention. Apart from Bloomfield's *Notes on the Baigas* (1885), Russell and Hiralal on the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (1916), the scrappy notes in the *Census of India*, 1931, there is the highly informative book, *The Baiga*, brought out by Elwin in 1939. The life of no other branch of the Bhuiya tribe of the Munda family has been treated so authoritatively and so intimately. Elwin's translation of Baiga folk poetry¹ is an invaluable aid to the understanding of the Baiga mind. As Professor Hutton says in the Foreword—"Anthropology has waited a hundred years for a full account of the Baiga, but Mr. Elwin has paid the debt as fully as any single author could who had to work on a tribe after its tribal life and organisation had largely gone." This remark raises the same problem as with the Santal. What a loss to science, to comparative folk-lore, comparative mythology and comparative philology, that these fast disappearing village songs could not be collected a hundred years ago.

Of the other branches of the Munda family,—Munda Birhor, Koda, Ho, Turi, Asuri, Korwa, (Kharia),—regional monographs by Thurston, Keane and Roy² provide readable matter. It is not easy for a European or a caste Hindu to become perfectly familiar with their way of thinking or of looking on the world. As Darwin said, you

¹ Elwin, *The Baga*, The Dadaria, pp. 438—53.

² S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, 1912.

cannot observe without a theory—and even the most careful and conscientious observer has his bias and the picture he presents is stamped with his individual mentality. The only remedy is a faithful preservation of folk—"literature" collected in their native environment from unsophisticated genuine aboriginals. And to collect them before it is too late—before the ever-increasing tide of Aryan ways and speeches, of Dravidian (Uraon) ideas and expressions, first infiltrate and finally disintegrate the Munda heritage.

The works of Mr. Archer are of the greatest importance in this direction. In *Faust*, Goethe deplores that more days are lost in lamenting over lost days. Mr. Archer, the scholar-administrator, does not believe in losing time. In his *Lil Khora Khekhel* in which he collected 2600 songs and 440 riddles he has laid bare the Uraon heart—a heart often too physiological for sooth, but at the same time a sensitively pulsating organ with fleshy strings stretched from ventricle to valves, a harp that rings true. He has rendered the same service to the other great aboriginal family of Chota Nagpur, the Kolarian—in his *Ho Durang* of 935 Ho songs and riddles and his *Kharia Along* of 1528 Kharia songs and 446 Kharia riddles. All these books¹ collected with commendable patience and printed with care and published at a price within the reach of all, are a surer means of maintaining and furthering the Uraon and Munda traditions than that advocated by Elwin and commented on by Hutton—

¹ To be had of the Honorary General Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Museum Buildings, Patna.

'the establishment of a sort of National Park'.¹ Sometimes they have an even more universal appeal: in the words of an eminent anthropologist—"Das sind Urtöne, sie schlafen in Waldesgründen; Gott weiss, wer sie gefunden hat".—These melodies are as old as the world, they slumber in the depths of the forest; God knows who discovered them. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Archer will supplement these collections with studies on their primitive sculpture and paintings.

The Munda Durang is divided into 15 sections—(1) Jadur, (2) Gena, (3) Japi, (4) Racha, (5) Lahasua, (6) Karam, (7) Khemta, (8) Jhumar, (9) Jatra, (10) Mage, (11) Jarga, (12) Jarapi, (13) Arandi, (14) Hojor Durang, (15) Kahani. Max Müller was the first to distinguish between the Munda and the Dravidian families. "I can see indeed many coincidences between Uraon, Rajmahali, and Gondi on one side, and Singhbhum (*i. e.* Ho), Sontal, Bhumij, and Mundari words on the other, but none whatever between these two classes."² The word Munda is often used by Europeans to designate the Mundas of the Ranchi district, *i. e.*, only a section of the whole race. Like Manjhi in Santali, Munda in Mundari denotes the village chief and is an honorific designation of a landed proprietor. Mr. Archer's collection is in Mundari spoken in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The author has drawn mostly from the Khunti Sub-division of the Ranchi District. As the Munda

¹ The Baiga, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

² Linguistic Surv. Ind., Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

slowly change without its sense of poetry being affected***The traditional poems may evaporate but different poems may grow up in their place. When this happens, the collection of songs does not salvage an activity but none the less it may be of great moment. And this is the situation with the Mundas, and the *raison d'être* for the present collection of poems. [Munda Durang, Preface, p. (i).]

This modest estimate covers the author's systematic collection, printing and publication of the folk poetry of the Dravidian (Uraon), Munda (Ho, Kharia and Munda), and recently Aryan (Bhojpuri) families,—three out of the four linguistic families which divide among themselves the bulk of the population of India. In his characteristically unassuming way, by suggestion and illustrative example, Mr. Archer is collecting the raw material and preparing for a time when concerted academic and administrative action will be able to undertake an *Encyclopaedia of Folk Lore*, a work hardly less exigent than Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

A. Banerji-Sastri

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Fascicule 11 Āraṇyakaparvan (1). Poona. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. 1941. 11½ × 9, pp. 1—509.

Following the orderly progress maintained so far Dr. Sukthankar has brought out in time the Āraṇyakaparvan corresponding to adhy. 1—157 of the Vulgate up to the end of the Jaṭasuravadha-parvan. The next fascicule expected to be issued shortly will complete the Āraṇyaka and will contain an Appendix, Notes and Introduction.

The *apparatus criticus* consists of 21 MSS. including the Śāradā Codex belonging to the Institute and the work has been carried out on the same lines and with the same conscientious care as the preceding fasciculi. The text of the Āraṇyaka is noticeably smooth but is interesting for the light it throws on the process of inflation in the Epic as a whole. The Vulgate version based on the Northern tradition is much longer than the Southern. Thus it shows that the inflation in the Southern version is not uniform and that the Northern tradition is not free from it.

The Āraṇyaka is specially valuable as a storehouse of the legends of Ancient India, of which the Nala episode and the Rāyaśṛṅga legend are well-known. In his *Nalas und Damajantī, eine indische Dichtung, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt* (Berlin, 1838),

Bopp was the first to draw the attention of students of Folk-tales and Fairy Stories to the world-wide ramifications of the Nala legend. Burnouf in his *Nala traduit en Français* (Nancy, 1856), Milman and Monier-Williams in their *Story of Nala*, (Oxford, 1860), and Jarret in *Tale of Nala* (Cambridge, 1882), testified to the appeal the legend had for the Indo-European mind. Penzer in Vol. IV pp. 275 ff. of his *The Ocean of Story* notes the various attempts the world over to trace the distribution of this legend. Thus while the work of Dr. Sukthankar is truly national, Sanskritists in India, England, the Continent and America will appreciate his critical edition of the epic no less as an international source-book.

Alike in conception and in execution, Dr. Sukthankar's is a great task. The magnificent results obtained till now must be a source of pride to Dr. Sukthankar, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona and to Indologists everywhere.

A. Banerji-Sastri

ANCIENT INDIA.—Volume III. By Tribhuvandas L. Shah L. M. & S. Shashikant & Co. Baroda. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 1—506.

The book purports to be a 'History of Ancient India for 1000 years in 4 volumes from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D. The author describes his work as "a marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories, substantiated with facts and figures from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers".

The present volume contains an account of the Śuṅga dynasty and of the foreign races that invaded India. The author says that "the book itself contains a presentation of those things only, which are likely to interest the general reader for whom, specially, those volumes are meant".

As a specimen of the author's performances may be mentioned his theory that Aśoka and Priyadarsin are different individuals, p. 15. He tries to fix the date of the Śuṅga dynasty on the year of the assumption of the title of "Kalki", p. 9.

As an example of the language of the book may be cited—"The people of Avanti had the hell of a time under the wicked rule of the Śakas. No doubt, they hailed their liberator with uncommon glea" *sic*—p. 367.

The whole book may be described as a Lewis—Carrolite compendium of incongruities. It

reminded the present reviewer of a pronouncement he had heard in his younger days 'Bootjacks pickled are nice for tea.'

The production is disgraceful in every way.

A. Banerji-Sastri



THE ĀLAMBANAPARĪKṢĀ AND VṚTTI
BY DIĒNAGA with the commentary of
Dharmapālā. Edited by N. Aiyaswami Sastri
8×5½, Pp. 1—xxiii, 1—125. Published by the
Adyar Library; 1942.

The Ālambanaparīkṣā is a small treatise consisting of eight verses (kārikās) and brief explanatory notes in Sanskrit by Ācārya Diñnaga, 'the father of mediaeval Indian Logic. The position taken by him is analogous to that of his predecessors, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, namely, that ālambana the apparent object of consciousness, is unreal and that consciousness alone is real :—

Yadantarjāyārūpam tu Bahirvadavabhāsate

The importance of this little treatise can be judged from the fact that great exponents of Hinduism like Kumārila and Śaṅkara thought it imperative to meet the arguments advanced by Diñnaga by their own counter-arguments. Pandit N. Aiyaswami Sastri has done a distinct service to Sanskrit learning by reconstructing the original (which has been lost to us) from its Chinese and Tibetan translations.

The edition under review contains two commentaries, one by Dharmapāla (rendered into Sanskrit from the Chinese version of I-Ching) and the other by Vinītadeva from which copious extracts

have been cited in their English rendering. Not only the texts by Diñnāga but the commentary by Dharmapāla too has been translated into English. Sanskrit translations of Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsiang's Chinese versions have been placed side by side for a comparative study.

By giving in the 'Appendix' the relevant portion from Vasubandhu's *Vimśikā* and the classification of phenomena according to the *Yogācāra* and *Sautrāntika* Schools, the editor has added to the usefulness of the edition.

It is worth noting that both Diñnāga and his two commentators, Dharmapāla and Vinītadeva were either products of, or were intimately associated with, the Buddhist University of Nalanda in this province of Bihar. It is in Nālandā that Diñnāga wrote the treatise *Ālambanaparīkṣā*.

D. B. S.

STUDIES ON SOME CONCEPTS OF THE
ALAṆKARA ŚĀSTRA. By V. Raghavan,
M. A., Ph.D., Department of Sanskrit,
University of Madras. pp. XX+312. Pub-
lished by the Adyar Library, Adyar. 1942.

In this treatise the author has made a critical and historical study of such important concepts of Sanskrit poetics as Lakṣaṇa, Alaṅkāra, Svabhāvokti, Bhāvika, Rīti, Vṛtti in Kāvya, aucitya and camatkāra. He has intended this book to be a sup-
pliment to his work on Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa wherein he has dealt with Sāhitya, Ukti, Doṣa, Guṇa, Vakrokti, Alaṅkāra, Dhvani and Rasa. The special feature of the work under review consists in bringing into prominence some important topics of Alaṅkāra-Śāstra which have escaped due treatment at the hands of precursors in the field like S. K. De and P. V. Kane. One such topic is Lakṣaṇa which has been exhaustively studied in the first chapter. The importance of this concept of Lakṣaṇas becomes manifest when we find that some of the chief figures of speech in Sanskrit were originally born as mere Lakṣaṇas which had developed separately as adorning features. In the chapter on the 'Use and Abuse of Alaṅkāra' the author has taken some concrete illustrations and attempted to show that, properly employed, the figures 'form the inevitable incarnations in which ideas embody themselves'. The history of Svabhāvokti and Bhāvika

has been traced with clarity and comprehensiveness. In his study of the concept of Riti, the author has referred to Dr. S. K. De's observation in which he distinguishes 'style' from Riti on the ground that the former has, unlike the latter, 'a distinct subjective valuation'. Dr. Raghava maintains that the eastern conception of Riti and the western one of style are almost at par with each other and that a subjective standpoints of Riti is not alien to Sanskrit Poetics. The study of the subject is interesting and the method followed is comparative and critical. The topic of ancitya has been studied in detail in one of the concluding chapters and to the best of our knowledge, it has been so done for the first time by Dr. Raghavan.

Thus this handy treatise by Dr. Raghavan is a valuable contribution to the stock of existing literature on the subject.

D. B. S.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's Office on Sunday, the 22nd November, 1942 at 9-30 a. m.

Present :—The Hon'ble Justice Sir Sayiid Fazl Ali
(in the chair).

The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. Sullivan, S. J.
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.
Prof. Y. J. Taraporevala.
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on September 27, 1942.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months of September and October, 1942.
3. Passed payments of the following :—
 - (a) Purchase of Munda Durang 50 copies from W. G. Archer, Esq., I. C. S. for sale by the Society. Rs. .. 200.
 - (b) Purchase of Chester Beatty Collection of Miniatures, 3 volumes from Messrs. B. H. Blackwell, Ltd. .. Rs. 161-4-6.
4. Elected Babu Ramadhar Sinha, B. A., B. L., Intelligence Officer and Superintendent, Employment Bureau, Department of Industries, Patna, as an ordinary member of the Society.

5. Considered the advisability of exchange of the current issues of "Asiatic Review" with the current issues of the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society".

Resolved that the exchange be agreed to.

6. Read letter No. 5048 R./IVL. 68, dated the 30th October, 1942 from the Under-Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department regarding Regional Committee for the Survey of Historical Records.

Resolved that a meeting to which all the local ordinary, corresponding and associate members be invited be called as soon as possible to discuss the matter fully before arriving at any decision.

7. Considered letter No. 2494 E, dated the 19th November, 1942 received from the Deputy Secretary to Government, Education Department.

Resolved that Government be requested to let us know whether the boxes containing the manuscripts, albums and books of the Society may now be sent to the library of the Muzaffarpur College.

A. Banerji-Sastri

Honorary General Secretary,

25-11-1942

II. Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton)
Patna and Gaya in 1811-12

Edited with Notes and Introduction by

V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S.

Price Rs. 10

III. Journal of Francis Buchanan, Shahabad in 1812-13

Edited with Notes and Introduction by

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S.

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Price Rs. 9

*Books marked * are to be had of the Patna Law Press, Patna.*

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